



Government of Bengal

Final Report of the Rangpur Survey and Settlement Operations

1931—1938

By

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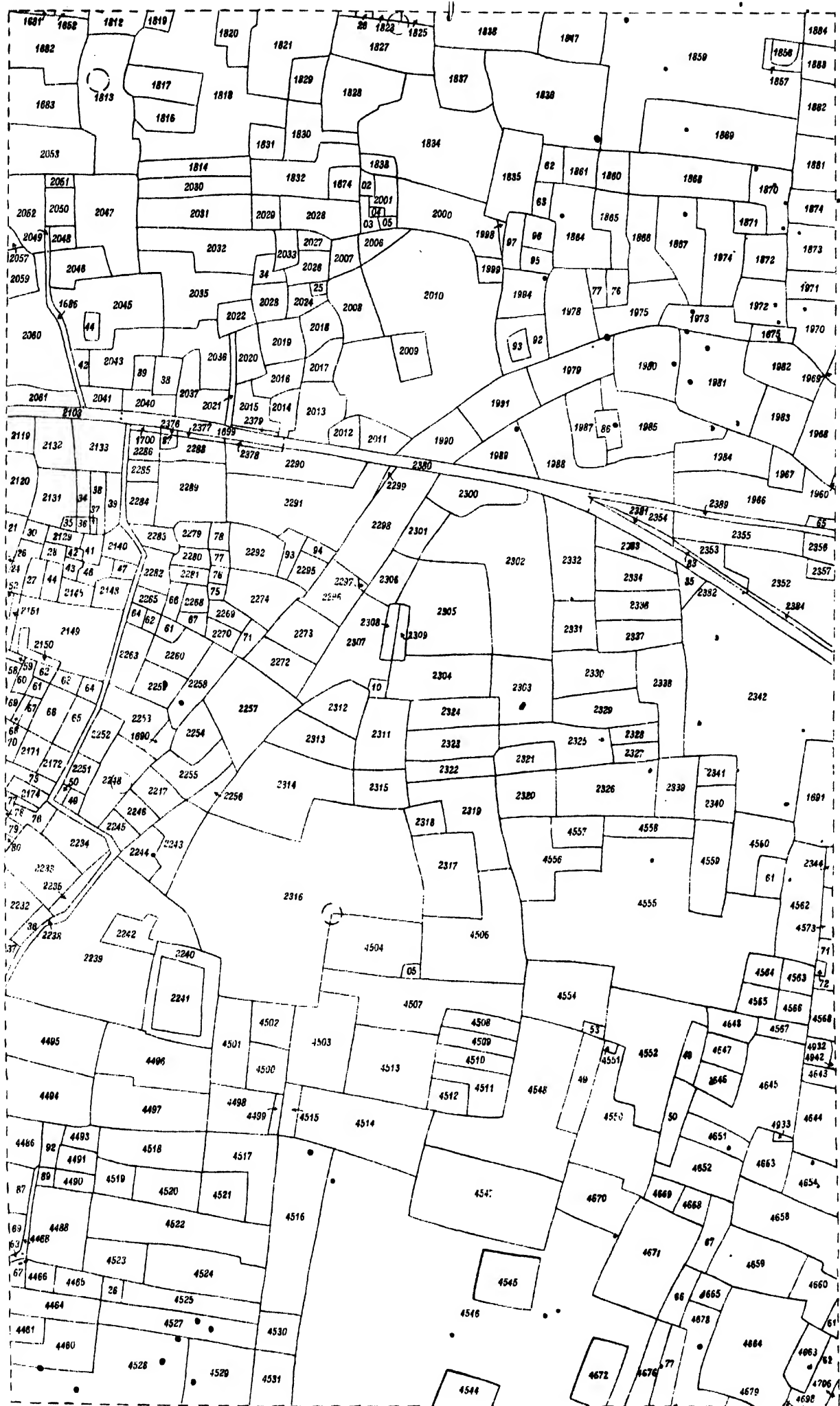
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Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Rangpur.

PART I—THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I—Area and boundaries.

1. **Area.**—The district of Rangpur is in shape an inverted triangle lying between $25^{\circ} 3'$ and $26^{\circ} 19'$ north latitude and $88^{\circ} 44'$ and $89^{\circ} 53'$ east longitude. It is bounded on the north by the state of Cooch Behar, on the west by the districts of Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur, on the south by Bogra, and on the east by Mymensingh and the province of Assam. The total area is 3,607·35 square miles. The area thana by thana is :—

	Sq. miles.
1. Sadar subdivision ...	1,163·60
Gangachara ...	81·89
Rangpur ...	123·15
Badarganj ...	165·99
Mithapukur ...	199·08
Pirgachha ...	99·62
Pirganj ...	158·82
Kaunia ...	57·11
Kaliganj ...	166·83
Hatibandha ...	111·11
2. Nilphamari subdivision ...	634·41
Domar ...	96·85
Dimla ...	126·95
Jaldhaka ...	125·84
Nilphamari ...	135·48
Kishoreganj ...	102·31
Saidpur ...	46·98
3. Kurigram subdivision ...	972·92
Lalmonirhat ...	131·27
Fulbari ...	50·20
Nageswari ...	171·88
Bhurungamari ...	91·22
Kurigram ...	106·11
Ulipur ...	212·84
Chilmari ...	110·32
Rahumari ...	99·08

	Sq. miles.
4. Gaibandha subdivision ...	836·42
Sundarganj ...	161·45
Sadullapur ...	89·91
Gaibandha ...	123·94
Palashbari ...	73·78
Gobindaganj ...	177·77
Saghata ...	88·32
Phulchhari ...	121·25

2. **Thana jurisdiction.**—The thanas were established by regulation XXII of 1793. Since then they have undergone considerable changes and transfers have been made to and from other districts. The principal changes are summarised below :—

No.	Thanas in 1937.	Changes in jurisdiction.	Present thana.
1	Kotwali or Mahiganj or Rangpur.	Originally situated at Mahiganj (Old Rangpur) it was removed to its present site in 1875 when the civil station quitted Mahiganj. Mahiganj was made a separate thana. In 1916 and 1918 Gangachara was formed out of Kotwali. Mahiganj was abolished and Pirgachha and Kaunia formed.	Rangpur, Gangachara, Kaunia, Pirgachha.
2	Martazaganj or Dhap.	Was moved to Nisbetganj about 1830 and abolished in 1875, being replaced by Kotwali.	
3	Kumarganj ..	Subsequently named Badarganj.	Badarganj.
4	Darwanl ..	1884 moved to Nilphamari and 1922 Saidpur formed.	Nilphamari, Saidpur.
5	Baroni ..	Abolished in 1863. Portion on the east of Teesta became Forunbari and on the west became Jaldhaka.	Jaldhaka.
6	Dimla ..	In 1914 subdivided into Kishoreganj and Domar and mauzas from Jaldhaka and Nilphamari added to two latter thanas.	Kishoreganj, Domar, Dimla.
7	Sanyaskata ..	} Now in Jalpaiguri.	
8	Fakirganj ..		
9	Forunbari ..	In 1875 removed to Kaliganj and in 1913 subdivided into Kaliganj and Hatibandha.	Kaliganj, Hatibandha.

No.	Thana in 1937.	Charges in jurisdiction.	Present Thana.
10	Borabari	Removed to Kulaghat in 1870 and to Lalmanirhat in 1914 and subdivided in 1914 into Fulbari and Lalmonirhat.	Lalmonirhat, Fulbari.
11	Nageswari	Subdivided in 1915 into Nageswari and Bhurungamari.	Nageswari, Bhurungamari.
12	Ulipur	Subdivided in 1914 into Ulipur, Rahumari and Chilmari.	Ulipur, Rahumari, Chilmari.
13	Chilmari		Kurigram.
		Created in 1875 out of Ulipur and Nageswari on formation of the subdivision.	
		Created in 1875 out of Bhowaniganj.	Sunderganj.
14	Sadullapur		Sadullapur.
15	Bhowaniganj	1875 transferred to Gaibandha, subsequently named Gaibandha and subdivided in 1914 into Gaibandha and Phulechhari.	Gaibandha, Phulechhari.
16	Dewanganj	1821 transferred to Bogra. Now in Mymensingh.	
17	Gobindaganj	1821 transferred to Bogra. 1871 retransferred to Rangpur and in 1903 subdivided into Gobindaganj and Saghata and in 1919 Gobindaganj was further subdivided into Gobindaganj and Palasbari.	Gobindaganj, Palasbari, Saghata.
18	Bagdhat	Abolished in 1868 on the redistribution of the jurisdictions.	
19	Khetlal	1799 transferred to Dinajpur and thence to Bogra.	
20	Habra	1799 transferred to Dinajpur.	
21	Sahelganj (transferred from Dinajpur in 1799.)	1802 moved to Molong and then made an outpost under Maliganj. Then re-created in place of Bagdhat in 1868 and in 1875 moved to Mithapukur.	Mithapukur.
22	Pirganj (transferred from Dinajpur in 1799.)		Pirganj

The following thanas were transferred to Rangpur in 1801 and subsequently retransferred to Jalpaiguri or Assam: (1) Boda. (2) Patgram. (3) Dhubri. (4) Rangamati. (5) Karaihari.

3. Cooch Behar boundary.—The State of Cooch Behar had been previously surveyed, but the maps were to be subject to readjustment at the time of the Rangpur Survey. Two problems required solution: the survey and demarcation of the main boundary and the demarcation of the detached *chhits* or enclaves of Cooch Behar within Rangpur and of Rangpur within Cooch Behar. As the survey progressed, in Rangpur, it became clear that a boundary commission would be necessary to reconcile the numerous discrepancies that were found in almost every mauza.

A commission was accordingly appointed consisting of the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, and a representative of the State. The instructions to the Commission were to follow the principles laid down in the Jalpaiguri-Cooch Behar Commission of 1919. Accordingly work was commenced early in 1934 and the entire main boundary and three large and important enclaves, namely, Batrigachh and Uttar Bansjani of Rangpur, and Dakurhat Dakinir Kuthi of Cooch Behar, were demarcated by ferro-concrete pillars and all the disputes decided. The *chhit* lands or enclaves were not demarcated then as it was at first proposed to interchange them and thus leave a clearly defined boundary. This would undoubtedly have facilitated administration and saved a good deal of expense. Unfortunately local opinion was strongly against this proposal and so it was dropped, and early in 1935 the commission met again and the enclaves were all demarcated and disputes adjusted.

4. Assam boundary.—The district boundary marches with Assam from the trijunction of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Goalpara in the north to the trijunction of Mymensingh, Garo Hills and Rangpur in the south. For a considerable distance it runs through a maze of shifting char lands and rivers where permanent demarcation is impossible and distinctive landmarks are so few that the relay of boundaries can only be done through an expert agency. The inevitable result of these conditions was that the powerful estates on either side of the border encroached deeply into each others lands until the boundaries laid down by the revenue surveyors (Pemberton of Rangpur in 1855-57 and Kelso of Goalpara in 1851-53) were, for practical purposes, completely ignored. The position was further complicated by the fact that Chandra's maps, which were widely used by district officials, followed an independent boundary survey made by MacDonald in 1875 and in many places deviated considerably from both Pemberton and Kelso. An agreed and settled boundary line was imperative and the Director of Land Records, Bengal, instructed the Settlement Officer to draw up a report based on local inquiries and adopting as far as possible the principle that the interprovincial boundary should be coterminous with the boundary of a Rangpur estate

¹The report is reproduced in Appendix II.

on one side and a Goalpara estate on the other. The Government of Assam appointed an officer to watch the proceedings on their behalf. The boundary eventually approved was based either on the Rangpur revenue survey line as modified by present possession or on one of the compromise lines which had resulted from litigation between the rival estates on either side of the border. Mr. O'Donel's line (Kasimbazar-Gouripur arbitration) was accepted as far south as Kulumankular Char, police-station Nageswari. It followed Pemberton's revenue survey line closely and where it was broken owing to estates other than Kasimbazar intervening on the Rangpur side, Pemberton was adopted. Then came a large area of Bhitambar estate where there was no arbitration line but a High Court decretal line (1887-88), the result of prolonged litigation between the Bhitambar and Gouripur estates. To have followed this would have involved a considerable loss of territory for Bengal as the line ran far to the west of Pemberton. Pemberton's line was consequently adopted. South of Bhitambar, Kasimbazar estate recommences and as long as it marches with Gouripur, O'Donel's line exists. The line, however, is much to the west of Pemberton and so Pemberton was again followed. On the Assam side the Karaibari estate falls to the south of Gouripur. The quarrels between the estate and Kasimbazar resulted in a compromise line being relaid in 1919. This line was demarcated by pillars and actually ran down the gap between Pemberton and Kelso which in this stretch showed considerable discrepancies. This continued to the north of mauza Pahartali, police-station Rahumari, and was adopted. For the small remaining portion there was a line known as O'Donel's Garo Hills Demarcation (1904). This followed a partition between the 4 annas and 12 annas divisions of the Karaibari estate. As, however, administration had long been carried on in accordance with this line it was followed as the boundary [*vide* Appendix 1(b)].

5. **Mymensingh boundary.** — From the south-east corner of police-station Rahumari to the south-east corner of police-station Saghata the boundary abuts on Mymensingh. During the survey of the latter district in 1910 maps were prepared up to the left or eastern bank of the Brahmaputra and during

the supplementary diara survey of 1914, in which a number of Rangpur mauzas were surveyed, they were prepared up to the right or western bank of the river. The inter-district boundary was shown as the centre of the main stream. The river subsequently shifted its course some miles westward leaving behind a characteristic maze of streamlets, sandy wastes and chars, some of which in a few years became valuable cultivable land. The Collectors of both districts and the Settlement Officer proposed that the old Mymensingh line should be relaid and adopted as the boundary, but Government ruled that the principle that the midstream of a large river should ordinarily form the boundary, must be adhered to. Further representations were sent up and the matter remained under correspondence for a long time. It was ultimately realised that the administration of the large block of Rangpur that had reformed on the Mymensingh side would be very difficult indeed from Dewanganj police-station and the boundary was revised. Where sand and water was found the Mymensingh boundary was relaid and adopted as the village boundary, where cultivation was found, the boundary was to be modified by present possession. Actually no modification was found necessary as the proprietor of the Patiladaha estate was in possession in both districts [*vide* Appendix 1(c)].

6. **Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur boundaries.**—Some detached fragments of Rangpur mauzas were found within the neighbouring districts of Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur and in a similar manner fragments of these districts occurred within Rangpur. These were all mapped as separate chaks by the thakbast survey and, as in the case of the Cooch Behar *chhits*, civil and criminal jurisdiction was determined by the parent district. For some reason these *chhits* had been neither surveyed nor interchanged during the Jalpaiguri district operations: Dinajpur had not then been taken up. It was decided to make the exchange immediately. The Rangpur *chhits* in Dinajpur were transferred to that district and left for the Settlement authorities of Dinajpur. Rangpur *chhits* in Jalpaiguri were surveyed and the maps and records made over to the Deputy Commissioner, Jalpaiguri, whilst the *chhits* of Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri lying within Rangpur were

transferred to Rangpur and incorporated with the records. [For notifications, *vide* Appendix 1(d)].

In the southern half of the western boundary the revenue surveyor had followed the river Karatoa. Unfortunately in some places where the Dinajpur surveyor had taken the midstream as the boundary, the Rangpur surveyor had included the entire river within Rangpur and vice versa. The reasons for this could not be traced. The result was to accentuate the boundary disputes which are always wont to occur in the neighbourhood of an unstable river like the Karatoa. As the Rangpur survey preceded that of Dinajpur by two years and there appeared to be no reason why it had not been followed, it was adopted as the *de jure* boundary and modified according to present possession.

Physical features.

7. General appearance.—As a district Rangpur is more pleasing to the eye than most. Its fertile soil nourishes a variety of crops which break the monotony so characteristic of ordered paddy cultivation whilst its well-marked natural divisions afford a pleasant diversity of scenery. In the north-west the landscape is open with long stretches of rolling sandy grassland seamed with dried up river beds and interspersed with scattered homesteads and clumps of feathery bamboos. It is well above flood level and the houses of split bamboo and thatching grass are built flush with the ground without plinths. Their freedom from jungle and undergrowth differentiates them from homesteads elsewhere in the district. As the Tista is approached on the east the level of the land falls and becomes a veritable maze of old river beds. Beyond the river and its stretches of sandy char the character of the country changes. The soil becomes heavier, the land still lower and the old water courses are marked by a series of *bils* fringed with reeds and jungle. These are sometimes covered with floating vegetation in which case they afford cover to innumerable wild fowl. Towards the Brahmaputra the lands again become more open and sandy, though not so elevated as in the north-west and much more closely cultivated. Here is grown much of the mustard

which adds such a pleasing colour touch to the land-scape in the months of December and January. The principal jute area lies to the south-east. Here the country is open evincing by its large tin-roofed homesteads and orchards of graceful betel-nut palms, evidence of past prosperity. In Saghata the pressure on the land occasioned by heavy diluvion has resulted in intensive cultivation and more compact village sites. The central area, round Rangpur, is liberally supplied with untidy jungly patches and unkempt fields surrounded by *ails* covered in thatching grass. Southwards, the central area lying between the sluggish courses of the Nalea and the Ghaghat is heavily waterlogged and bears testimony to the local tradition that it marks the course of a once mighty river. On the extreme west the aspect changes once more. This is an area of old alluvium marked by stiff red soil and a profusion of big trees which here replace the preponderance of the bamboo. Bordering on Dinajpur there are still uncleared stretches of stunted sal jungle where leopards abound. Further south, approaching Ghoraghat, scrub jungle prevails. Throughout, the open areas are cultivated with paddy. The homesteads are built to withstand the burning *paschi* which blows from the uplands of Bihar in March, April and May. They have thick mud walls, high plinths and heavy overhanging eaves. The khiyar soil of this area enables cool houses to be made from mud.

The scenery of the Brahmaputra is unique. In the cold weather the mass of char lands is many miles broad, intersected by innumerable channels of the river some wide and deep enough for the river steamers plying between Calcutta and Assam, others small and shallow where communication can be established only by country boat. The process of formation and destruction of the land is always going on. New chars first appear when the heavy silt-laden river subsides after the monsoon. They are then low banks of silver sand. Gradually a thin layer of silt is deposited and a few tamarisk bushes take root. In two or three years they are covered and the formation proceeds apace as they serve as a barrier to hold up the silt of the river. By this time the first of the char dwellers will have arrived and erected his ramshackle hut and *goalbari* in a small clearing. For

a year or two a precarious living is scratched from the sandy soil but gradually regular crops of *aus*, *china* and *kaon* begin to appear. The immigration increases, more land is cleared and soon the semblance of a village arises. The older the char, the more established the village which generally straggles along the high ridge of some dried up *khal* or *nullah* and can easily be picked out by the characteristic clusters of banana trees. The houses are invariably thatched and built of split bamboo or jute sticks. They are perched on high plinths alongside capacious cowsheds where the cattle are tethered when the pasture lands are inundated by the monsoon floods. The process of diluvion is at work at the same time and hundreds of acres of old established char are sometimes washed away in one season by some vagary in the course of the river. So big are the changes that a touring officer travelling in two successive seasons may very easily find himself completely baffled by the topography. During the rain the scene changes and the river is one vast sheet of water with here and there the higher portions of the chars just out of reach of the flood. But whatever the season, lying as it does against the dark wooded background of the Garo Hills, it forms a strikingly picturesque piece of scenery.

8. **The river system.**—The first survey of the rivers with any pretensions at all to accuracy was made by Major James Rennell between 1765 and 1773, when he was deputed to investigate the trade routes of north and north-eastern Bengal. Thirty-six years later Buchanan Hamilton after trying to follow his maps wrote "the rivers of the district have undergone such changes that I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them." What was true then is even more true today. Except for the Brahmaputra which seems to have been surveyed reasonably carefully, the other rivers on Rennell's map are almost unidentifiable, so great have been the changes. The first accurate maps are those made by the revenue surveyors in 1856-57. Even they differ considerably from the present settlement maps.

9. **The Brahmaputra.**—The Brahmaputra dominates the eastern portion of the district. • In Rennell's time it

was considerably east of its present position and flowed near the foot of the Garo Hills subsequently turning south-east through Mymensingh and debouching into the Meghna. A secondary series of streams, the Konai and Jhinai, were even at this time taking a south-westerly course from the edge of Mymensingh and following roughly the present course of the Jamuna. By the time Buchanan Hamilton visited the district, the Konai was a large river, and growing steadily at the expense of the old Brahmaputra. By about 1830 the changes must have been complete. The old river, a shadow of its former self, still flowed through Mymensingh, but the bulk of its water passed south through the new channel and was called the Jamuna. Two factors contributed to bring about this change. The new channel of the Tista added to the volume of the river below Chilmari, whilst a change in the course of the Tsangpo in Tibet increased the velocity of the Brahmaputra in Assam causing it to straighten out in its lower reaches. It now enters the district at Kalamankular char in the north and proceeds south leaving a wilderness of chars and a thin strip of *asli* land in the east to mark its earlier courses. Lately it has been eroding strongly in the Phulchhari and Saghata leaving considerable accretions on the Mymensingh bank.

10. **The Tista.**—In Rennell's time the Tista flowed south along the western borders of Rangpur, feeding the Atrai in Dinajpur and the Karatoa in Rangpur. At the same time a small creek known as Tista Creek meandered south-east towards Rangpur town, lost itself for a while in the Ghaghat, and then reappeared and entered the Brahmaputra near Ulipur. During the disastrous floods of 1787 the main river made a sudden and catastrophic change of course. The description of Mr. McDowell, who was Collector at the time, cannot be bettered. He wrote: "* * * These last-mentioned floods had scarcely begun to subside when they were succeeded by an inundation which threatened to be much more destructive in its consequence than any of the former ones. The large river Tista, a small branch of which formerly ran through the district in a south-easterly direction, about the latter end of August, suddenly altered its course, and leaving the Dinajpore river

almost dry, forced its way in a most astonishing manner into the small branch abovementioned where, not meeting with a channel sufficiently large, it overflowed the whole of this district carrying with irresistible violence everything before it and involving the inhabitants, with their cattle and houses, in one general wreck." The inundation continued for another two rainy seasons before the river finally cut for itself a new channel. Still another diversion occurred in the early part of the 19th century when a westerly loop from Chatnai Balapara (police-station Dimla) to Davabari and Nohali (police-station Jaldhaka) was straightened out. Major Rennell's Tista creek is now completely silted up though parts of it correspond with reaches of the Buri Tista and the Mara Tista, two former channels of the big river. The course it adopted after its last change has been roughly adhered to since, though the vast wilderness of sand on either side of the water shows how frequently the current is apt to swing from one side to another. It now enters the district about a mile north of Chatnai and flowing in a south-easterly direction debouches into the Brahmaputra a few miles south of Chilmari.

11. The Karatoa.—The Karatoa is one of the most famous rivers of north Bengal. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata as separating *Matsyadesh* or Bengal from *Pragjyotish* or Kamrup. Its size was remarked upon by Yuan Chang, the Chinese traveller, and by the earliest Muslim invaders. It appears to have been losing importance for some time before the alteration in the course of the Tista deprived it of much of its water. The maze of old channels in the west of the district and the existence of inland *ganjes* such as Buxiganj or Buzruk Bagbar, are eloquent of the important part it previously played in the life of the district. At the present day it is traceable from the south of police-station Saidpur. Where it is crossed by the railway line it is little more than a *nullah*, and though it marks the district boundary it is of no importance until it is joined by the Jamuneswari at Mauza Nurpur. The Jamuneswari which by then has absorbed the waters of the Chikli is itself referred to in old documents as the Tista or Buri Tista and evidently formed one of the many channels deriving from the

river of that name. South of the junction with the Jamuneswari, the Karatoa is navigable though still small. It continues along the district boundary until it reaches police-station Gobindaganj and passes through the thana. Originally it flowed directly south past Gobindaganj itself and through Bogra and Pabna into the Jamuna. In the early part of the 19th century, however, the main current turned eastwards along a small channel known as the Katakali just north of Gobindaganj'. In a few years the southern part of the course was moribund. Attempts were made to revive it and in 1852 a special act was passed authorising the levy of tolls on boat traffic to meet the maintenance costs. The scheme failed, and the newly excavated channel again silted up. The Katakali, which is now, to all intents and purposes, the Karatoa, collects the water of the Alai and taking the name Bangali flows south into Bogra subsequently reuniting in that district with the original channel of the Karatoa.

12. Ghaghat, Manas and allied rivers.—The Ghaghat was formerly a river of some importance and its banks were chosen for the site of Rangpur. For some time it operated as a distributary of the Tista, but during the 19th century the mouth silted up and the river slowly stagnated. From Gaibandha it is joined to the Manas, another ex-distributary of the Tista, by an artificial cut known as the Bagooria canal. In the early part of the rains the Manas rises more quickly than the Ghaghat and the water in the canal flows from east to west. Later in the season this flow is reversed. The effect of the Bagooria canal on the Ghaghat has been similar to that of the Katakali on the Karatoa. The bed to the south of the junction is completely dried up for many miles. It is found again in the neighbourhood of Saghata where it joins the Bangali. The northern part of the Manas is now dried up and shortly after its junction with the Bagooria canal it falls into the Brahmaputra. Its course in places is called the Mara Manas, a name dating from the days of the revenue survey. These rivers are all insignificant in the

¹Local tradition says that it was artificial. Apart from the name, there is nothing to support this and the fact that it appears in Rennell makes it very unlikely.

dry weather but are busy highways for the jute traffic in the rains.

13. The Sankos.—The Sankos is a river of considerable size and velocity. It enters the district from Cooch Behar at mauza Uttar Dhalbanga in police-station Bhurungamari and after flowing in a south-easterly direction falls into the Brahmaputra in police-station Nageswari. The nomenclature in the older maps is confusing. The present Sankosh is a continuation of the Raidak. In its upper reaches it used to be called the Heldanga and in its lower reaches the Dudhkumar. In police-station Burungamari it is now called the Sankos and in police-station Nageswari it retains its old title of Dudhkumar. The true Sankos is a much large river which flows down between Cooch Behar and Goalpara. Only a small portion falls in Rangpur where, after being joined by a channel of the Dudhkumar, it takes the name of Gangadhar. Rennell's "Sunecoss" though very approximately mapped appears to be the present Dudhkumar and Sankos, the true Sankos appearing in his maps as the "Gadadar."

14. The Dharla.—The Dharla, a continuation of the Jaldhaka of Cooch Behar, enters the district at Durgapur in police-station Kaliganj and after flowing along the boundary for a few miles, turns south-east between Fulbari and Lalmonirhat and passing through Kurigram and Ulipur, falls into the Brahmaputra near Bagua. The course has changed very little since Rennell's time but in his maps the river was small until it was joined by the Nilkumar or Buri Dharla near the present Char Baraibari. This latter river was still of considerable size in Buchanan Hamilton's time, though it has since silted up and is now marked only by a few scattered marshes.

15. The Bils.—The district is remarkable for the number rather than the size of its *bils*. Many of them, especially in the north-east and in the neighbourhood of the Tista, are old river beds in the process of drying up. They are unusually shallow and consequently a large area in every *bil* dries up in the hot weather and is brought under temporary cultivation. There is reason to believe that the process of

drying up was considerably accelerated by the earthquake of 1897. A comparison of the areas of the *bils* as they are now, with the areas as they were at the time of the revenue survey shows that, almost without exception, they have considerably diminished in size. Local opinion is emphatic that a very marked reduction occurred between 1897 and 1900. The largest *bil* is Barabila just to the south of Pirganj thana. It is a complete mauza in itself and covers an area of more than three square miles. Other large *bils* occur in mauza Hariswar Taluk, police-station Lalmonirhat, mauza Baispukar, police-station Dimla, mauza Koksabari, police-station Nilphamari, and mauza Naodanga, Kuthi, police-station Nageswari.

Health and climate.

16. Vital statistics.—The district, which formerly had an unenviable reputation from the point of view of health appears to have improved considerably since the earthquake of 1897. Unfortunately it is not possible to make a statistical comparison as figures are not available before 1892, and it is doubtful whether they are really reliable before 1910. However, both Buchanan Hamilton (1809) and Glazier (1873) comment unfavourably on the climate and health. Though, on account of the prevalence of malaria, it still cannot be reckoned as one of the healthy districts of Bengal, it is no longer notorious. Some idea of the general improvement in recent years is given by the following figures:—

Yearly death rate per mille of population, average of—

1911-20	... 31·59
1921-30	... 27·00
1931	... 25·23
1932	... 20·72
1933	... 28·05
1934	... 27·11
1935	... 27·55

Malarial fever is the principal cause of death by disease. It occurs throughout the district but is more pronounced in the south-west than in any other area. Generally speaking the lands adjacent to flowing rivers, *i.e.*, the thanas along the Tista and the thanas along the Brahmaputra are less affected than others. In the mid-channel char lands it is practically unknown. The seasonal variation is slight rising a little from October to December and declining from February to May. The use of quinine as a specific is increasing, but the number of quacks and *ojhas* who make a comfortable living out of the credulity of the people, is still distressingly large. The কলপড়া cure for the disease in which a *kabiraj* chants *mantras* over a vessel of water which is then given to the patient to drink, is still practised in Domar and Dimla. Smallpox occurs in epidemic form along the navigable rivers. In the opinion of the health authorities the infection is introduced by migratory boatmen. Eighty per cent. of the deaths occasioned by this disease occur between the months of April and July. A curious feature is the apathy of the people towards it. No attempt is made to keep the infected patient segregated and it was not an uncommon thing for a bujharat kanungo to find a cultivator suffering from smallpox, attending his table. This same apathy was noticeable in the cases of leprosy also. In some areas lepers freely intermarry with healthy families and take a regular part in the village activities. Epidemics of cholera are common. These again are generally confined to the river areas where they spread with remarkable rapidity. Another disease, the importance of which has only been fully realised of late years, is kala-azar. It is not possible to give comparative statistics as it was formerly classed as malaria. There are now more than 50 centres where correct diagnosis is made and treatment given accordingly. In 1935 out of 14,046 cases treated, 2,554 proved fatal. The most unhealthy part of the district is the area southwards from Pirganj as far as Gobindaganj. The central portion, comprising police-station Palashbari, has an evil record. The average excess of deaths over births from 1931-35 being 18·8 per mille. The principal cause of this is malaria and kala-azar. The district as

a whole shows an excess of births over deaths of between 1 and 2 per mille.

17. **Rainfall.**—The average rainfall per month over the entire district is as follows:—

	Inches.
January	... 71
February	... 44
March	... 1·68
April	... 4·06
May	... 8·89
June	... 17·24
July	... 15·55
August	... 11·68
September	... 15·39
October	... 6·01
November	... 50
December	... 08
Total	... 82·23

The heaviest rainfall is returned from the recording stations in Kuri-gram and Ulipur. Generally speaking the areas along the Brahmaputra get more than elsewhere. The high lands to the west of the district get least. For the purpose of cultivation it is admirably distributed. By the middle of March the showers are normally sufficient to ensure the sowing and early growth of the bhadoi crops. At the same time the heat is pleasantly tempered and the prevalence of cloudy skies and cool breezes does much to mitigate the rigour of the hot weather. The *paschi* or hot west wind which afflicts the neighbouring district of Dinajpur during the months of March, April and May, is rare except in the extreme west. From June onwards the humidity increases rapidly and the climate becomes very trying especially during the breaks in the monsoon which are not infrequent. September and October are unpleasant and unhealthy months, but by the beginning of November the nights have begun to cool down and by the middle of December the cold weather definitely sets in.

Chapter II—The people.

18. **Growth of the population and distribution.**—In 1789, Mr. McDowall, the Collector, made an estimate of the

population. Excluding, as far as possible, the parganas which no longer lie within the district, his figure comes to 400,000. These figures were based on zamindari returns and since it was to the interest of the zamindars to minimise the extent of cultivation and thereby strengthen their case for a lenient assessment, the population was probably underestimated. In 1809, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton wrote about this census, "it is acknowledged, by all those with whom I have conversed, to have been extremely inaccurate, and to have reduced the number of people very much indeed under the real amount." In making his own estimate he adopted as the basis of his calculation that one plough can cultivate five acres of land annually and on an average there was one plough to every five people. To the figure thus obtained he added a certain proportion for the non-agricultural population. The figures he arrived at, namely, 2,084,000 is almost certainly an overestimate and is criticised severely by Glazier on the ground that three people to a plough would have been a fairer calculation.¹

A further source of error seems to have been an overestimate of the area under cultivation. It is very unlikely that the total waste, including current fallow, would only be about one-third of the total area, especially as a considerable area was cultivated on the *utbandi* principle. Contemporary records go to show that the district was far from having recovered from the ravages of pestilence and famine that proceeded the decennial settlement. Even at the present day the area under cultivation is only a little more than two-thirds of the total. It seems probable that Glazier's own figure of 1,200,000, arrived at after applying his reduction, is still an overestimate.

The first regular census was taken in 1872 and showed a population of 2,149,119. From then until 1901 there was a steady decline. The causes of this appear to have been the extreme unhealthiness of the district, brought about by the silting up of some of the main drainage channels. Vital district statistics of any value for this period are not available but contemporary reports go to show that the death rate from fever and cholera was

abnormally high.¹ An increase was recorded in 1901. This was due to two reasons. In the first place the immigration from Chota Nagpur had begun and in the second place the health of the district was vastly improved by the great earthquake of 1897 which raised the level of the district considerably and improved the drainage out of all recognition.² From 1901 to 1931 there has been a steady increase. The distribution of the present population is shown in the following table.

Compiled from the Census Provincial Table II of 1931.

Subdivisions and police-stations.	Religion.				Number of persons per square mile.
	All religions.	Hindu.	Islam.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
All subdivisions ..	2,594,786	746,546	1,836,840	11,399	719
Sadar subdivision ..	739,530	216,527	514,341	8,671	635
Pirgachha ..	61,492	15,750	45,709	33	614
Kaunia ..	37,026	9,820	27,192	14	640
Kotwali ..	107,680	36,259	70,995	426	1,044
Rangpur municipal area.	20,749	14,136	6,259	354	
Gangachara ..	66,350	16,037	50,309	4	809
Badarganj ..	107,050	22,780	82,808	1,462	644
Mithapukur ..	108,143	18,597	85,031	4,515	543
Pirganj ..	84,147	12,309	69,748	2,090	529
Kaligani ..	109,666	55,958	53,587	121	656
Hatibandha ..	57,085	29,017	28,062	6	522
Nilphamari sub-division.	530,696	218,243	311,723	730	837
Dinla ..	84,360	49,142	35,210	8	664
Domar ..	76,671	36,491	40,157	23	815
Domar town ..	2,471	1,378	1,073	20	
Jaldhaka ..	106,028	46,590	59,425	13	841
Kishoreganj ..	93,969	24,026	69,931	12	921
Nilphamari ..	114,456	44,088	70,243	125	880
Nilphamari town ..	4,405	2,994	1,362	40	
Saidpur ..	55,212	17,906	36,757	549	1,525
Saidpur town ..	16,505	10,583	5,449	473	
Kurigram sub-division.	627,588	168,615	458,159	814	645
Lalmoharhat ..	108,091	42,274	65,497	320	860
Lalmoharhat town ..	4,681	3,655	793	233	
Fulbari ..	31,787	9,524	22,263	..	635
Kurigram ..	60,073	15,635	56,808	46	684
Kurigram town ..	12,476				
Nageswari ..	112,172	33,398	78,541	233	652

¹A careful enquiry, which is vouched for by Glazier, was made in a small area in Forumbari (now Kaliganj) in 1875. This showed the rate of births to deaths as 246 to 295. Of the deaths 46·6 per cent. were due to fever and 20·5 per cent. to cholera.

²This has now been definitely established by a careful comparison of the marsh areas as shown in the revenue survey and the present cadastral maps. Most of the water-logged areas have been diminished by half and from local enquiry it has been ascertained that this shrinkage commenced immediately after the earthquake.

¹The Settlement census of ploughs shows one plough to every eight of the rural population.

Subdivisions and police-stations.	Religion.				Number of persons per square mile.
	All religions.	Hindu.	Islam.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bhurungamari ..	53,497	22,451	30,003	53	587
Ulipur ..	138,260	30,131	108,059	70	602
Rahumari ..	49,219	2,044	46,545	30	497
Chilmari ..	62,013	12,558	49,393	62	563
Gaibandha sub-division.	696,962	143,161	552,617	1,184	833
Gobindaganj ..	139,805	21,925	117,190	690	785
Palashbari ..	72,509	11,078	61,415	16	979
Saghata ..	75,014	14,476	61,407	31	862
Gaibandha ..	132,081	31,193	100,689	199	1,133
Gaibandha town ..	8,479	4,703	3,655	121	
Phulchhari ..	52,471	13,418	38,996	57	433
Sadullapur ..	78,833	17,879	60,801	63	876
Sundarganj ..	145,349	33,192	112,025	128	903

The number of persons per square mile mean an overall average of the total areas of the police station.

The congested state of Saidpur is accounted for by the fact that the thana is small and contains a large labour population in the railway workshops, that of Saghata by the diluvion which has reduced the area considerably at the same time as a natural increase of population was taking place. Generally speaking, the jute-growing areas support a bigger population than the tobacco areas (though this does not apply to the char areas which are inevitably thinly populated).

19. Occupation.—The annexed table shows the principal occupations. As will be seen the district is almost wholly agricultural and the total urban population, comprised in the seven towns of Rangpur, Domar, Nilphamari, Saidpur, Lalmonirhat, Kurigram and Gaibandha is only 65,766. There is no industry of any importance.¹

Population of the district by occupation.

Occupation.	Number of persons.
Exploitation of animals and vegetation ...	550,231
Production of raw materials ...	550,238
Pasture and agriculture ...	543,903
Ordinary cultivation ...	539,434

¹This table inevitably contains many duplicate entries as subsidiary occupations are included.

Occupation.	Number of persons.
Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind ...	21,287
Cultivating owners ...	273,255
Tenant cultivators ...	117,254
Agricultural labourers ...	126,147
Preparation and supply of material substances ...	63,851
Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders. ...	7,999
Transport ...	11,207
Trade ...	26,037
Trade in food-stuffs ...	14,503
Public administration and the liberal arts ...	12,029
Miscellaneous ...	41,657
Domestic service ...	20,097
Other domestic servants ...	19,952
Unproductive occupations ...	17,304
Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes ...	16,570
Industry ...	26,607

20. Muslims.—The census figures show that in 1931 there were 1,836,840 Muslims to 746,546 Hindus. In the rural areas the Muslims predominate still more. This is a very different state of affairs from the early years of last century when Buchanan Hamilton estimated the predominance in the ratio of 10 to 9. All the evidence available goes to show that the increase in the number of Muslims has been steady and is due to greater fecundity and, in the early years, to conversion. The predominance in 1872 was much less than it is to-day. The prevalence of polygamy naturally tends to greater fecundity and the figures for 1931 show that the percentage of married Muslims females between the ages of 15 and 40 was 87·2 per cent. as against 72·6 per cent. of the Hindus. The percentage of sterile marriages is only 7 per cent. as against 2 per cent. amongst Hindus. How far the Muslims are immigrants and how far converts is a matter of controversy. Buchanan Hamilton favoured the conversion theory. "Although the followers of the Koran form a large proportion of the inhabitants of this district, there is little reason to suppose that many

of them are intruders. They seem in general from their countenance to be descendants of the original inhabitants who have been converted in a great measure, probably, by the intolerance of the kings of Bengal." Many of the Muslims by no means accept this theory and urge that immigration and colonisation in the days of the Afghan kings account for their initial appearance and that natural fecundity explains their preponderance. The surname "Nasya," which used to be common, is explained as a corruption of "laskar," a Muslim soldier. The conversion theory, however, is strongly supported by history and by the observations made by the settlement staff. Although the tolerance of the early Moghul Emperors is an established fact, the tolerance did not extend to frontier areas such as Rangpur. Here there is a definite historical tradition of militant proselytism centred on the governor of Ghoraghat and in particular on Shah Ismail Ghazi the conqueror of Kamrup in the late 15th century and a name which is well known in the south of the district to this day. That immigration accompanied conversion is very probable and it is very obvious that in the south of the district the resemblance of the Muslims to the Rajbangsis is much less than in the north. This would be accounted for by the intermarriage of the immigrants with the indigenous converts. In the south too, the proportion of Muslims is greater than in the north. Another historical factor which supports the conversion theory is the character of the Rajbangsis. As is pointed out below they were of Koch extraction with a very loose adherence to the orthodox Hindu faith. Their almost animistic outlook must have facilitated their absorption into a strong and positive religion like that of Islam. Most important of all is the complete lack of pure Islamic tradition which was remarked on by all the settlement staff, Hindu and Muslim alike. Ballads in honour of Bisahari and Satya Pir (sometimes known as Satya Narayan) are preserved and sung by people of both the faiths. The worship of Jakha, also a Rajbangsi deity, was noted in some thanas and the use of a white flag on the burial ground is very reminiscent of the white canopy used by the Rajbangsis on their cremation grounds. Another custom, common to Hindus and

Muslims, which was noticed in the north of the district, was the presence of the barber at child-birth, whilst the regular attendance of men of both the faiths at "jatra" and "kirtan" parties is common. The evidence of names is also strong. In the old leases and rent receipts many of the present-day Sheikhs were known as "Nasya" which appears to be a corruption of "Nasta". One Circle Officer collected a list of names from the old records of pargana Batasan, names which have subsequently become purely Muslim. Amongst them were many such as "Gugu Nasya," "Dokra Nasya," "Bheku Nasya," which are clearly derived from animistic beliefs. Lastly it is difficult to explain the position of sects like the Keots and Badyakars, who form a very definite depressed class in what should be a casteless community, unless they represent Namasudra converts.

Here and there are to be found colonies whose tall stature, fair complexion and thin aquiline noses, denote their Aryan ancestry. One such colony was noted in Jaldhaka and was significantly known as Pathanpara. Another occurs in Palasbari.

As a class apart, are the Muslim immigrants from East Bengal. These men are known as *bhatias*,¹ and are to be found in large numbers in the char lands of the Tista and the Brahmaputra. They mix very little with others of their faith, evince a strong Islamic tradition and are generally active, independent and inclined to be litigious. Many of them have fled from Dacca, Mymensingh, Pabna and Faridpur on account of losing their lands as a result of debt, or of oppression by zamindars' agents. They make excellent reclaimers of char land, but are apt to incur arrears of rent and vanish as suddenly as they came. For this reason the more permanent residents are hesitant to intermarry with them. Infiltration, however, has taken place and a fair proportion of the jute cultivators of Gai-bandha subdivision are *bhatias* who have made a permanent home there.

The Badyakars who are to be found scattered about the thanas, particularly in the neighbourhood of the bigger towns, form what is almost a depressed class in the community. Originally

¹From *উত্তি* (The ebb tide), i.e., those who have come via the river.

ceremonial drummers, some of them still practice this profession and their services are requisitioned whenever public proclamations are made. Others have taken to skinning and curing the hides of dead cattle. Their wives work as *dhais* or village midwives. They are probably Namasudras in origin and subsequently converted to Islam.

21. The Rajbangsis.—The Rajbangsis account for the bulk of the Hindu population numbering 444,974 out of a total of 746,546. The precise origin and status of this class has always been a subject of controversy. Buchanan Hamilton considered them to be "aboriginals of Kamrup" and to be strongly characterised by their features as belonging to the great eastern race of mankind". He also notes that they were called indiscriminately Koch and Rajbangsi, although they had introduced numerous distinctions amongst themselves which, however, were not generally recognised. At that time they appear to have been recognised as true Sudras by the Maithili and Kamrupi Brahmins but not by others. The Rajbangsis in fact represented a reformed sect of the Koch tribes. It is interesting to note even at this early period the Rajbangsi chiefs were setting up their claim to be considered as Kshatriyas who had fled to the Kamrup hills to escape the wrath of Parasuram¹. One of the later developments of this story which is now current in the northern part of the district is that the name "palia" by which Rajbangsis are frequently known was applied to them on account of their flight from Parasuram¹. In a note on the Koch, Paliya and Rajbangsi castes the census officer wrote in 1931, "the identity of their ethnic origin was asserted by Risley and has been accepted by the High Court of Calcutta. So far as I know it has not been contested by any reliable authority and such differences as exist between them have (when urged) been represented as due to an affinity of the Rajbangsis rather with the people of south-west Bengal amongst whom the Kaibartas are characteristic than with those of Assam and North-East Bengal."² He further remarked on the difficulty of

securing true returns of the Rajbangsis even on their own claim which was that they were of the same origin as the ruling house of Cooch Behar, because on the one hand the ethnically allied Koches and Paliyas claimed inclusion as Rajbangsis and on the other, Rajbangsis themselves often insisted on being recorded as Kshatriyas¹. There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the Rajbangsis are principally of Koch and hence Mongoloid extraction, with some admixture of Dravidian blood. These conclusions are supported by the observations of the settlement staff. The typical Rajbangsi is dark, short and stockily built with a broad nose and prominent cheek bones. The eyes of most of them show traces of oblique Mongoloid setting. The dress of the men folk is scanty often consisting of little more than a small *lengti* strung between the thighs. The women folk generally wear a single cloth (*patani*) from the breast to the knee. The majority of them go with their heads uncovered. In their customs they diverge far from orthodox Hindu practice. Divorce is still allowed and there is a loose form of widow remarriage. No ceremony is performed but the union is legalised by a meeting of the village elders and though the issue of such a union does not inherit the ancestral property some small customary provision is invariably made. Marriage is much more a matter of choice than in orthodox Hindu households and the dowry occupies a very minor position in the negotiations, being often dispensed with altogether. Their daily customs show many traces of superstitious beliefs; the hoisting of flags to drive away the evil spirits from a cholera-infested area is a common practice. In one village it was reported that a survey trijunction stone was worshipped as an emblem of Shiva after the alleged miraculous cure of an ailing child in the vicinity. Generally they worship such deities as Bisahari (snake goddess), Burichandi (goddess of rivers), Sonarai, Jakha, etc. They claim to be Baisnabs, but their religion shows strong traces of animistic Koch beliefs. One or two small communities who have been outcasted profess to be Bairagis.

In character they are simple, and when not under the influence of a village

¹The term "palia" is more commonly used in the neighbouring district of Dinajpur.

²Dr. Grierson, however, suggests that some at least of the Rajbangsis were originally Kshatriyas who adopted the religion of the eastern hillmen (Linguistic Survey of India).

¹Six thousand five hundred and twenty-three Koches were, however, recorded in Rangpur in 1931.

dewania, honest and straightforward. They are, however, lazy cultivators and show little enterprise or energy in keeping abreast of the time. In the northern thanas they appear more backward and primitive than in the south, besides showing a more marked Mongolian physiognomy¹. They are submissive by temperament and allow themselves to be exploited by zamindars' agents and by their own dewanias. During bujharat the *pattas* and rent receipts were invariably in the custody of the village headman. No question concerning the land was answered without first being referred to him. In more than one case this happened even when a tenant was asked his father's name. One Circle Officer noted that a frequent reply to a simple query as to the route to a nearby village was মুই চেড়া মানিষ বাবু মুই কি জাহু (How should such an insignificant fellow as I, know?).

Their claim to be considered Kshatriyas received a fillip some years back by the reforming campaign of the late Rai Sahib Panchanan Barman. For the sum of Re. 1-4 Rajbangsis were invested with the sacred thread. The ceremony was carried out without any recitation of the mantras and generally the rites enjoined by the Sastras were little observed. The money derived from this ceremony was devoted to social work in the community and though these 'panch siki' Kshatriyas are still looked at askance there is no doubt that the movement has done something to instil a sense of solidarity and dignity into the caste². One result of this was that many of the old typical Rajbangsi names were altered to "Das Barman", "Roy," Singh Roy," etc., even first names such as Tengroo being changed to Jogendra. Such was the desire for this that the zamindary amlas were able to reap a rich harvest of nazarana for making the mutations in the zamindary sherista.

¹In the District Gazetteer Mr. Vas suggests that the Dravidian strain is stronger in the south of the District. This may be true but is by no means established.

²The Census Report of 1931 states as regards the Rajbangsis. As early as 1901 they were reported as being "to some extent *jajchal*", i.e., considered of sufficiently elevated status to offer water to the higher castes and their position has by no means deteriorated since then". This does not agree with the observations of the settlement staff who found their position in the caste hierarchy much lower than the Census Officer.

The present census distribution shows the greatest number in the northern thanas of Sadar and Kurigram subdivisions and throughout Nilphamari. The thanas where jute is grown in great quantities show the smallest number; here the Rajbangsi has had to give way before the more energetic Muslim.

22. Other Hindus.—Amongst the remaining Hindus the Namasudras are the most important numbering 36,319. Large numbers of them are fishermen and are found in the vicinity of the Brahmaputra and Tista. They are few in the west of the district. The next most numerous caste are the Bairagis. They claim to be Baishnabs but the majority of them have little knowledge of the teachings of Lord Gouranga. They belong invariably to the poorer sections of the community and are recruited largely from men and women who have been expelled from their caste on account of breaking the caste rules. An interesting case of the drift towards this class is reported from Manduapara, police-station Sadullapur. The community of Rajbangsis there was outcasted for a sacrificial offence. When the District Gazetteer was compiled they were outcastes, pure and simple. They now style themselves Bairagis and are universally accepted as such. As a community their social customs are lax and they are inclined to a nomadic existence. Many of them, however, have settled down as cultivators.

Brahmins and Baidyas are few in number and are centred on the towns and thana headquarters and are nearly all, in origin, immigrants from Eastern and Lower Bengal. The Kayasthas are locally recognised as Kshatriyas; they are also mainly immigrants and are to be found scattered throughout the various offices and cutcherries. The trade in the small mufassal hats is monopolised by the Sahas, most of whom are immigrants from Eastern Bengal. The occupational castes are tending to merge into one another and follow cultivation as their chief business. Telis, for example, have almost ceased to exist as a separate community.

23. Immigration and emigration.—There is very little emigration and such as there occurs amongst the *bhatias* or *adhiars*. The *bhatias* are themselves immigrants and if for any reason the

quarrel with their landlords, become involved in debt, or fall foul of their co-villagers, they are quite ready to move off to the char lands of Assam. This they prefer to do rather than settle on the mainland. The *adhiars* on the borders of Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur are sometimes driven by debt to leave the district. Their numbers, however, are not very great.

Immigration of a permanent nature is now almost confined to the *bhatias*. There is a big influx of up-country labour every cold weather for harvesting which must affect the census figures considerably. The labourers generally return before the rainy season which they regard, quite rightly, as very unhealthy. A few of them stay on to assist at the jute harvest, but their numbers are small. Santhal and Oraon immigration has now almost ceased and the movement of the educated classes is, numerically negligible.

24. Santhals, Oraons and Mundas.

—The Santhals, Oraons and Mundas who may be broadly classed as primitive tribes are comparatively late immigrants. They are not mentioned in the early accounts of the district and find no place in the census figures of 1872 or 1881. Their numbers per 10,000 of the total population were, 2 in 1891, 20 in 1901, 44 in 1911, 29 in 1921 and 32 in 1931. At present there are 7,410 Santhals, 5,984 Oraons and 962 Mundas. The following table shows their religion as returned by the Census Officer:—

			Religion.		
			Hindu.	Tribal.	Christian.
Santhal	..	..	3,881	3,192	337
Oraon	..	..	1,210	4,429	345
Munda	..	..	395	550	17

They are practically confined to thanas Mithapukur, Pirganj and Badarganj. Though nominally returned as immigrants from the Santhal Parganas and Chota Nagpur, a large number of them entered the district after having been domiciled for a generation or more in Malda. The distinction between those returned as Hindus and those returned as belonging to a tribal religion is largely artificial; the catholicity of Hinduism has been sufficiently wide to absorb them without bringing

about any noticeable change in their practices and beliefs. The Christian community, though small, is sharply differentiated from the others by reason of its organisation into churches and the constant supervision of the various missionary bodies.

The original reason for the immigration was to clear and reclaim jungle land, or to keep down the depredations of wild animals'. Although they cannot be called scientific cultivators they are hard workers and will undertake to clear and farm lands which would be refused by the resident Bengali. They are fond of hunting and still retain vestiges of their nomadic habits so that they are easily moved on from their lands once they have rendered them cultivable. It is for this reason that most of them are found in the south-west of the district in the areas of scrub jungle and sal forest.

Their social customs exhibit a freedom from restraint which is not characteristic of Hinduism. Although marriages are occasionally arranged by match-makers, they are much more frequently left to the choice of the young people; marriage before puberty is unknown. Their festivals are associated with excessive drinking and much dancing. Apart from this they are a continent and moral people and infidelity of man or wife is rare and when it occurs, is severely punished by the tribal elders. In some areas *gotras* are recognised, twelve amongst the Santhals and ten amongst the Oraons. Marriage, as amongst the Hindus, is exogamous. Their worship is still strongly animistic and the deities of the sun, the river, the woods, etc., find a permanent place in their pantheon of gods.

They are now settling down as cultivators, most of them as *adhiars*, though some have been recorded as occupancy raiyats or as under-raiyats. Many of them also act as part-time day labourers.

25. Village society.—The features of village life which most impressed our settlement staff were the absence of any resident aristocratic or landed middle class and the influence exercised by the village dewanias. The few big zamindars who are resident in the district live

¹In Bhurangamari there is still a small group of Oraons who were imported a generation ago to hunt boars in the char lands. They still follow this profession.

principally in Rangpur¹. In the jute areas there are a number of fairly large jotedars but their standard of living and education is that of well-to-do cultivators. It is this class, chiefly Muslim which supplies most of the Union Board Presidents and members. On the whole they are shrewd and capable and though they display but a tepid interest in national politics, they are always ready and able to discuss matters of local importance. The educated middle class, as far as it exists, is composed largely of the zamindari agents on the staff of the local cutchery. Although their influence has diminished as a result of the economic crisis they still form an influential section of the community. They are nearly all immigrants from East or Lower Bengal and have little sympathy for, or interest in, the people amongst whom they live. Their power of instituting rent suits and the multifarious ways in which they can exert indirect pressure on a largely illiterate tenantry has helped to consolidate their position whilst their freedom from any real control by the zamindars has left their victims without any ready means of redress. He would be a bold tenant who would dare to appeal to the law against the local naib. The village agents of the naib are frequently to be found in the dewanias². These men, of whom one or two are to be found in almost every village, are the leaders of the local factions who, by a smattering of legal knowledge and ready wit, have gained the confidence of their co-villagers. Often they are "retained" by the zamindars' staff and in return for land at favourable rates of rent, or even rent free, they watch their interests. Often too they act as lawyers' touts. Their influence is greatest in the north of the district and least in the jute areas of the south-east. In a few areas they are real leaders of the tenants; these instances are, however, few. Their influence now is on the decline and signs are not wanting that their position is being taken by leaders of peasant organisations on a wider scale.

The trade is mainly in the hands of Marwaris and East Bengal Sahas who,

however, do not take a very active part in village politics.

Hindus and Muslims live in complete amity, attend each other's festivals and show not the slightest signs of communal feeling except when under the influence of the itinerant *maulvis* from East Bengal.

Chapter III—An economic survey.

26. Method and scope of enquiry.—

An enquiry was made into the state of indebtedness and the standard of living of the inhabitants of 35 villages selected from different parts of the district. 1,170 families comprising 7,436 persons came under enquiry. The statistics were all compiled in the villages by the cadastral Circle Officers (Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors, and sometimes senior Revenue Officers) and were checked where necessary by comparison with the draft record of rights. They are more complete for the area lying south of the Parbatipur-Kurigram railway line, since, in blocks A and B, which covered the northern part of the district, the regular operations were carried on by a very attenuated staff and the time devoted to the economic enquiry was consequently restricted. It is difficult to be dogmatic as to the accuracy or otherwise of the figures. Any attempt to obtain exact information from a cultivator is fraught with the greatest difficulty. Not only has he an inexact memory but his tendency, when speaking to a Government servant, is to exaggerate his financial difficulties in the belief that a show of prosperity would be sure to bring in its wake fresh taxation. As much of the information has necessarily to be obtained orally, these difficulties are not inconsiderable. On the other hand the officers of the settlement department possess unique advantages for making an enquiry of this nature. The survey and recording of every plot of land within a village brings them into intimate contact with all the inhabitants, whilst the disputes which occur frequently over land which is after all the central factor of village economy, throw an intimate light on social and economic conditions. Under

¹There are welcome signs that in some of the bigger estates the sons of the zamindars are taking an active interest in the management and are no longer content to leave it entirely in the hands of agents.

²The dewanias appear to have originated in the influential tenants or huzuri jotedars who, about the time of the Permanent Settlement, obtained the privilege of allotting the village rent.

the circumstances it is perhaps not unreasonable to claim for the statistics in general, a fair standard of accuracy. Two considerations of general importance are: (1) the conclusions drawn are based partly on statistics and partly on general observations and (2) the period during which the enquiries were held was one of acute agricultural depression. The extent of the fall of prices of primary commodities is indicated in the following table:—

Enquiry, which found only 17 per cent. of the families free from debt¹. The percentage of indebtedness is lowest in the diara areas inhabited principally by Muhammadan *bhatias*, immigrants from Eastern Bengal. The reason for this is that they have very little security on which to borrow. Char lands, subject to diluvion, may be very fertile and profitable to cultivate but their impermanence renders them of little value to the mahajans. On the main land the

TABLE A.

Statement showing the harvest prices of certain important crops per maund and showing the general fall in the price level of agricultural products of Rangpur district from 1928 to 1935.

Names of the crops.	1928 to 1929.	1929 to 1930.	1930 to 1931.	1931 to 1932.	1932 to 1933.	1933 to 1934.	1934 to 1935.	1935 to 1936.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Winter rice (cleaned) ..	7 12	7 4	4 4	3 8	2 13	3 0	3 8	3 8
Autumn rice (cleaned) ..	6 0	6 0	3 0	2 4	1 14	2 2	2 8	2 8
Wheat '	10 0	7 8	4 4	3 12	4 4	4 12	4 8	4 0
Gram	6 8	7 0	3 0	3 4	4 0	4 8	4 0	3 0
Gur	9 0	7 8	5 0	4 8	4 0	3 12	3 7	3 8
Rape and mustard ..	10 0	9 0	5 8	5 10	5 12	5 10	5 8	6 0
Jute	11 0	8 0	3 0	4 8	3 0	3 4	3 0	3 0
Tobacco leaf	20 0	12 0	8 0	6 4	9 0	8 0	4 0	6 0

The enquiries in block A were made in the cold weather of 1931-32 and in blocks B, C and D during the three succeeding winters. Though prices were abnormally low they were fairly stable so that there is no need to make any adjustments on account of price level, from block to block. All the enquiries relate to agriculturists.

27. Extent of indebtedness.—The number of families found to be indebted was 796 and the number free from debt 464. That is to say, the percentage of indebted families is about 60. This compares unfavourably with the position in Faridpur in 1906 where Mr. Jack found only 45 per cent. of the cultivating families in debt, but favourably with the figures given for the same district in 1933 by the Bengal Board of Economic

sugarcane and paddy areas to the south-west are far less indebted than the jute areas to the south-east. Thus in block C (south-east) 361 families are indebted and only 147 free of debt, whilst in block D (south-west) 175 families are indebted and 193 are free of debt. This is partly explained by the phenomenal fall in the price of jute. Sugarcane and its derivative, gur, were not affected to the same extent, whilst paddy has never been a purely money crop. The main explanation, however, is inherent in the village economy. Indebtedness is chronic. Enquiries show that the indebted cultivator has always tended to borrow up to what might be called his

¹This figure appears to include both agriculturists and non-agriculturists. The question of urban debts was not examined in Rangpur by the Settlement Department.

normal credit so that he always carries a permanent or semi-permanent dead weight of debt. If the price of jute rose it was followed by a rise in the value of land and the mahajan was willing to advance more money on the security of the same land. At the same time the process of borrowing and repaying was going on. Advances were taken at the sowing season and part of an old debt was repaid after the harvest. The permanent debt, however, remained and, in view of the high rates of interest (generally $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum), tended to increase as the interest was added, generally yearly, but sometimes half-yearly also, to the capital. In actual practice a good deal of this mounting debt was being constantly compounded for at a lower sum and the attitude of the mahajan was that as long as he could get even irregular payments he was content to let his capital lie. Then came the slump of 1930, the effect of which was to freeze both credit and debt. The villagers with the greatest normal credit, that is to say, those who held valuable jute lands, were caught with the biggest overdrafts from the mahajans. As land values toppled down in the wake of the falling jute market, the security for their extensive debts was largely wiped out and they were left in a far more difficult position than the cultivators in the purely paddy growing or sugarcane areas where the prices had not fallen so disastrously and debts had not been incurred so freely. The debt of the tobacco areas in the north falls midway between that of the south-west and the south-east.

The range of indebtedness is indicated by the following table:—

- 42 per cent. of the indebted families are indebted less than $\frac{1}{2}$ the annual income.
- 19 per cent. of the indebted families are indebted between $\frac{1}{2}$ and their full annual income.
- 11 per cent. of the indebted families are indebted between their full annual income and $1\frac{1}{2}$ times annual income.
- 6 per cent. of the indebted families are indebted between $1\frac{1}{2}$ times and twice their annual income.
- 22 per cent. of the indebted families are indebted more than twice their annual income.

Again the jute area is responsible for the heavy debt. There, 32 per cent. of the indebted families have a capital debt of more than twice their annual income.

28. The bearing of security on debt.—The only security which a cultivator can offer to the mahajan is his land. Thus the amount of land he possesses has an important bearing on the extent of his indebtedness. The families have been tabulated accordingly:—

Amount of land held.	Percentage of families indebted.
(1) 10 or more acres ..	59
(2) 5-10 acres ..	64
(3) 1-5 acres ..	63
(4) Under 1 acre ..	50

The table is slightly misleading. The percentage of families indebted is highest near the lower limit of class 2 and at the upper limit of class 3, i.e., about the 5, 6 or 7 acre holding. Above that it falls gradually although the aggregate debt per indebted family increases. Below the 5 acre limit both the aggregated debt and the percentage of families indebted, decreases. This is due to lack of security; in other words it does not pay a mahajan to advance money on the security of a small area of land which may, in addition, be a fragmented holding. The class of cultivator holding one or two acres must have a supplementary source of income either by working as a day labourer or by cultivating land in *adhi*. If he works as a day labourer he may possibly get a small advance of wages from his employer. If he works as an *adhiar* he will, in almost every case, take advances of grain at the beginning of the season, or perhaps a small loan, which is recouped at harvest time. In both these cases the debt is a short-term one and repayment is rigorously enforced. This is practically the only way by which the very small cultivator can get credit. Towards the top of class (2) borrowing ceases to be a necessity and hence the percentage of families indebted begins to fall. The increase of the aggregate debt per indebted family is probably explained by the fact that debts are incurred by heavy expenditure on marriage and litigation and tend to be confined to the more extravagant members of the community.

29. Aggregate debts.—The aggregate debt recorded for all the families was Rs. 1,69,913 giving an average debt per family of Rs. 145 and an average debt per indebted family of Rs. 241¹. The dates on which the capital of outstanding loans was borrowed, were noted for 24 villages in the southern half of the district. The figures are deceptive because they suggest the amount of the old loan is negligible. In fact it is far greater than would appear since it is the usual practice for mahajans to take fresh bonds periodically for the outstanding loans plus the outstanding interest or to compound an old loan with interest for a fresh lump sum to be paid in instalments bearing no interest. Such figures as have been collected were taken, as far as possible, from the actual bonds.

more or less a normal state of affairs. All that has happened is that the time lag in the payment has been accentuated by the recent slump.

There are no early statistics with which to compare the present state of indebtedness. The following extract from Mr. Glazier's history of 1873 is, however, of general interest :—

“The condition of the peasantry of this district in regard to indebtedness varies very much in different parts. Statistics there are none, but recent inquiries tend to show that the district may be roughly divided into three zones representing different degrees of indebtedness. In a broad tract all down the eastern side skirting the Brahmaputra, Dharla and Teesta rivers, the condition of the raiyats is at

Number of villages.	Amount of loan in rupees taken.												
	Before 1926.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	Un-certain.	Total.
24 ..	6,446	2,104	4,828	16,369	18,333	11,427	9,577	4,352	6,260	7,151	740	1,825	89,439

*The figure taken in 1935 applies only to 13 villages.

Although they can only be taken as approximately accurate they indicate very clearly the manner in which credit began to dry up in 1930 and the very tardy recovery, that it is now making.

One other factor needs to be taken into account in considering the aggregate debt. The total arrear rents vary between two and two and a half times the yearly rental. This has not been included in the total debt as arrears are

the best; the great majority are free from debt. In the central division from Rangpur down to the extreme south, the raiyats occupy a middle position; while all along the north and down the west the majority of the raiyats are in debt. It may be estimated that about one-quarter of the raiyats of the district as a whole are involved in debt. The causes that lead to the increase of indebtedness are high rent, few conveniences for exports, and the character of the soil. The condition of the raiyats on the clayey soil is worse than that of those on the sandy as the latter can raise a larger variety of valuable crops.”

If Mr. Glazier is correct in his analysis of the position, the distribution of debt was very different in his day; it is possible however that, in the absence of statistics, he has confused poverty with indebtedness.

30. Causes of indebtedness.—The actual debt was easier to ascertain than the cause. The fact that much of the present debt is old debt renewed was an added complication as it was necessary to unearth, in each case, the initial cause. Again, the figures given below cannot be more than very approximate but are probably sufficiently accurate to give a general idea.

¹The Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry has published figures for most districts showing the average debt per family (but not per indebted family). The figures are based on enquiries made by chaukidari circle officers and are given here. Rangpur compares favourably with most other districts.

	Rs.
Burdwan	219
Birbhum	162
Bankura	244
Midnapur	187
Murshidabad	106
Jessore	81
Nadia	199
Pabna	156
Bogra	150
Rajshahi	181
Malda	11
Dacca	286
Faridpur	217
Chittagong	265
Tippera	280

Main causes of debt in 24 villages.

Causes of debt.	Amount of debt incurred in rupees.
1. Food, clothing and other domestic expenses	39,591
2. Marriage expenses	31,543
3. Purchase of cattle	18,094
4. Purchase of land (including salami)	17,505
5. Rent	7,435
6. Trade	4,809
7. Repairs to and construction of houses	2,862
8. Litigation	1,978

The amount shown is the present value of the debt and not the value when it was incurred. Marriage expenses are probably above normal on account of the large number which were hurried through before the Sarda Act came into operation. The most significant feature of the list is the absence of luxury borrowing. Expenditure on marriages, which is so frequently referred to as unnecessary, is in fact enjoined on the villagers by strict social custom. It is as necessary for a villager to make some show when he marries a daughter as it is for an ambitious pleader to arrive at court in a carriage. Otherwise he may find it less easy to obtain a suitable groom when the next daughter is of marriageable age. With the exception of litigation the other items are all necessities. As regards litigation, the debts incurred on this account were mostly in the villages near to the subdivisional or district courts where village touts make a profitable business out of fomenting disputes. In the more remote areas little is spent under this head. Unlike his East Bengal brother, the Rangpur villager is not naturally litigious.

31. Position of the mahajan.—One feature of the debt problem which attracted the attention of all the enquiring officers was the inordinate growth, in recent years, of the raiyat mahajans. Although they charge nominally exorbitant rates of interest, in practice they are more accommodating in cases of real distress and less prone to rush to the civil courts than the banks, loan companies and urban mahajans who financed the cultivators during the boom years of jute. The various loan companies and banks have now shut their doors and find it difficult enough to meet their creditors without advancing any further loans. The Sahas and Marwaris are also shy of involving themselves further. The coast has thus been left

clear for such raiyat or jotedar mahajans who have the capital and necessary business acumen to take advantage of the situation.

32. Standard of comfort.—Any attempt to judge the standard of living from a mere mathematical calculation of income and expenditure is rendered impossible by the debt situation. As has been pointed out previously the percentage of indebtedness is greater among well-to-do cultivators than among poor ones. A rough classification was thus attempted along the lines laid down by Mr. Jack, on the basis of general appearance. Four groups were made. (i) Comfort, (ii) below comfort, (iii) above starvation, (iv) starvation. Well dressed families with large or tin-roofed houses containing some wooden furniture who perhaps sent their children to a Middle English or even a High English School would come under class (i)¹. Men belonging to this class might very well be Presidents or Members of the local Union Board. The average cultivator would vary between class (ii) and class (iii). It is possible that the idiosyncrasies of individual classifying officers played some part in deciding between these two groups. Class (iv) meant real poverty. Starvation is perhaps a misnomer. Village society is elastic and fairly kindly so that it is unusual to find any one in real want of food unless the village itself has been afflicted by a crop failure. Poverty, however, is common enough. The classification arrived at was as follows:—

	Families.	Persons.
Comfort	290	2,230
Below comfort	423	2,641
Above starvation	306	1,848
Starvation	151	717
Total	1,170	7,436

An interesting fact that emerges from these figures is that the size of the family depends to some extent on the standard of comfort enjoyed, class (i) has 7.6 persons per family, class (ii) has 6.2, class (iii) has 6 and class (iv) has 4.7. This is partly due to the fact that the more well-to-do parents tend to have a greater number of surviving children, and partly to the joint family

¹Mr. Bell, who conducted the enquiries in block C, considers that in practice the comfort classification was somewhat lower than this.

system whereby the more indigent members of the community are enabled to live for a time with their wealthier relatives. It is probable also that well-to-do Muslims who maintain more than one wife, add to the numbers in class (i). Unfortunately, separate statistics were not kept for Hindus and Muslims.

33. Household budgets.—Three family budgets have been included. These have been selected more or less at random from amongst the three upper classes. They in no way represent an average income and expenditure; they merely serve as illustrations. Similar budgets were compiled in the case of every family whose economic circumstances were investigated. A word or two as to the method of compilation is necessary. All Circle Officers were supplied with a detailed form "Z" in which figures of income, expenditure, debt, etc., were entered. Cash values of produce were calculated according to the prevailing market rate. Certain commodities such as dal, salt, clothing and kerosine oil, are normally purchased for cash. In such cases the information given by cultivators themselves was checked by inquiries at the local *hats*. An attempt was also made to estimate the value of minor products such as fruit, vegetables, milk, poultry and fish which are grown, reared or caught in small quantities by most families, but are not regularly sold. The figures in these cases are probably inaccurate though they were checked as far as possible. There are certain items of expenditure which do not occur every year. Such are the ceremonial expenses at births, marriage and deaths, the cost of constructing the maintaining homesteads and the purchase of ploughs and cattle. In the two latter cases a yearly value was obtained on the basis of the initial cost and the length of life of the article or livestock. One birth, one marriage and one death was reckoned for each member of the family in thirty years' and an annual charge calculated. In the case of lands cultivated or let in *adhi*, half the produce was credited to the head "khas produce". Interest payable on debts represented a difficulty. The nominal amount, generally calculated at $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., per annum, was enormous. In practice it was generally not paid at all, in a bad year,

or compounded for a lower sum. As however it represented a nominal debit it has been included and a note added to show how much was actually paid during the year under reference. Generally speaking, the income figures can be guaranteed as approximately correct. The produce of the land is the main source and the statements were all checked by a reference to the record of rights and a calculation of its value on the basis of the standard outturn per acre and the prevailing market price of the crop in question. The accuracy of the figures for expenditure is much more open to doubt as oral statements had to be relied on to a great extent. None of the budgets balance and the vast majority show a deficit. It must be remembered that the years were particularly bad ones and small deficits might be met by loans.

A glance at the budget shows the important position of rice in the dietary. A well-fed cultivator will eat 25 seers of cleaned and husked rice per month. Children and females eat about half of this. Thus for a standard of comfort family (i) should consume 26 maunds of rice. According to prevailing prices they consumed only 18 maunds. Family (ii) should have consumed 41 maunds, actually they consumed 31 maunds. Family (iii) should have consumed $53\frac{1}{2}$ maunds. They actually consumed $54\frac{1}{2}$ maunds. The amounts are calculated on the prevailing prices given earlier in the chapter. The absence of luxury expenditure is very marked. Even in family (iii) which has been classed as "comfort", the expenditure is all in necessities. It is also interesting to note that this family has the heaviest debt and the heaviest excess of expenditure over income, though this latter may be discounted to some extent by the item "interest on debts" which, in fact, was not paid. However, the expenses on education, medical assistance, maintenance of servants, etc., clearly show a standard of living superior to that of families (i) and (ii). Family (i) is a small holding family without any sublet lands. In normal times it should be reasonably prosperous with nearly 6 acres of *khas* land. The standard of living now is low. Family (ii) obviously cannot exist by cultivating 2 acres of land. Hence the large proportion of income from outside sources. Family (iii) would be normally prosperous but has been badly hit by the slump in the price of jute.

¹This was the system adopted by Mr. Jack in Faridpur on the assumption that the life-time of a generation is thirty years.

I. Annual budget of a family in police-station Hatibandha (1931-32).

Principal crop grown	..	..	Tobacco.
Land in khas possession	..	..	5 95 acres.
Family consisting of five	..	..	Two adult men, two adult women and one child.
Debts	..	..	Nil.
Classified on appearance	..	..	Above starvation.

Income.				Expenditure.			
			Rs.			Rs.	Rs. a.
Gross produce of the land	..	..	150	Food—			
Fruits, vegetables consumed and sold	..	..	8	Rice	..	60	
Poultry consumed and sold	..	..	2	Dal	..	4	
Other sources	..	..	2	Oil	..	4	
Total	..	..	157	Spices	..	2	
				Fish	..	2	
				Meat	..	4	
				Salt	..	2	
				Vegetable	..	3	
				Milk	..	3	
				Betelnut	..	2	
				Other articles	..	2	
							88 0
				Clothing and bedding	..		20 0
				Kerosene oil	..		2 8
				Construction and maintenance of homestead	..		6 0
				Purchase of cattle and plough	..		3 8
				Purchase of seeds, manure, etc.	..		4 0
				Rent and interest on rent (including abwabs)	..		32 10
				Taxes	..		1 12
				Ceremonies (marriage, birth and death)	..		7 0
							165 6
				Excess expenditure over income	..		8 6

II. Annual budget of a family in police-station Dimla (1932-33).

Principal crop grown	..	..	Tobacco.
Land in khas possession	..	..	2 acres.
Family consists of eight	..	..	3 adult men, 3 adult women and 2 children.
Debts	..	..	Rs. 60.
Classified on appearance	..	..	Below comfort.

Income.				Expenditure.			
			Rs.			Rs.	Rs. a. p.
Gross produce of land	..	..	50	Food—			
Fruit and vegetables consumed and sold	..	..	3	Rice	..	85	
Wages as agricultural labourer	..	..	50	Dal	..	24	
Professional service (barber)	..	..	50	Oil	..	15	
Milk consumed and sold	..	..	20	Spices	..	4	
Total	..	..	173	Fish	..	5	
				Salt	..	3	
				Vegetable	..	9	
				Milk	..	5	
				Betelnut	..	3	
				Other food	..	5	
							158 0 0
				Clothing and bedding	..		18 0 0
				Kerosene oil	..		3 0 0
				Construction and maintenance of homestead	..		3 0 0
				Purchase of cattle and plough	..		2 0 0
				Rent and interest on rent (including abwabs)	..		5 0 2
				Taxes	..		1 0 0
				Ceremonies (marriage, birth and death)	..		10 0 0
				Interest on debts (actually paid nil)	..		22 8 0
							222 8 2
				Excess of expenditure over income	..		49 8 2

III. Annual Budget of a family in police-station Baghata (1933-34).

Principal crops grown	Jute and paddy.
Land in khas possession	12.98 acres.
Family consists of ten	3 adult males, 1 adult female, 6 children.
Debts	Rs. 321-12.
Classified on appearance	Comfort.

Income.		Expenditure.	
	Rs. a.		Rs. a. Rs. a.
Gross produce of land cultivated khas	350 0	Food—	
Fruit, vegetables consumed and sold	12 0	Rice	163 2
Rents from under-tenants (Rs. 67-8 of this in arrears)	79 8	Dal	3 8
Milk consumed and sold	4 8	Oil	13 6
		Spices	3 0
		Fish	16 8
		Meat	5 0
		Salt	6 12
		Tobacco	3 0
		Vegetables	6 0
		Betelnut	7 8
		Gur	2 0
			229 14
		Clothing and bedding	59 4
		Kerosene oil	11 4
		Construction and maintenance of homestead	6 0
		Purchase of cattle and plough	5 0
		Interest on debt (nothing was actually paid)	234 6
		Rent	53 0
		Ceremonies (marriage, birth and death)	32 0
		Education of children	5 0
		Medical expenditure	10 0
		Miscellaneous expenditure	18 0
		Agricultural labour	12 0
		Servants	36 0
			711 12
		Excess of expenditure over income	265 12

Chapter IV—Use and occupation of the land.

34. **Historical survey.**—The Muslim historians paid very little attention to agriculture and it was not until the East India Company established a regular administration that there appear to have been any serious efforts to explore the resources of the district. During his cursory survey of the province, Major James Rennell noted in his journal the crops which might be usefully exploited to further the export trade of the Company. In Rangpur these were wheat, sugarcane, tobacco and betel-nut. Of these tobacco was a comparatively recent innovation having been introduced by the Portuguese in the 17th century. It had developed rapidly and in his report to the Board of Revenue on the intoxicating drugs and shrubs found in the district, the Collector wrote in 1798, "The pergunnah of Cargeehaut in the district

of Rangpur is chiefly remarkable for the goodness and quantity of the tobacco it yields during the harvest." By this time it had obtained a firm hold on the affections of the cultivator and Buchanan Hamilton observed that it was "more plentiful than in Dinajpur and its smoke is devoured by the men in most amazing quantities". Sugarcane was fairly extensively cultivated in the later years of the 18th century and a small sugar refinery was established at Bardhankuthi in 1794, which however only ran for five or six years. No particular attention seems to have been paid to the crop until 1840 when a group of planters introduced an exotic heavy yielding variety known locally as *saheban kusa*. It was probably the same variety as the Bourbon cane which was introduced, about the same year into Dinajpur. The heavy yield stimulated cultivation and the crop acreage increased by leaps and bounds. Unfortunately, after a few years, a blight set

in which proved fatal to all the exotic types. Cultivation languished and has only begun to revive of recent years. Indigo seems to have been a very old crop in the district and developed rapidly as an important article of export during the later 18th and early 19th centuries. Unfortunately, the friction between planters and raiyats which was so common in the big indigo areas of Bengal, broke out in Rangpur also. The industry fell into decline during the second half of the 19th century and is now totally extinct. The ruins of the nilkuthis are still to be seen in the north-west, particularly in Kishoreganj. Opium was an important crop when the administration of the Company began. Its cultivation was prohibited by a Government order in 1797 and in the following year the Collector estimated the loss in assets occasioned by this order at about Rs. 26,000. A good deal, however, continued to be grown illegally, and there are frequent accounts of raids made by the Collectors until the eighteen thirties. Two interesting experiments made by the Court of Directors soon after the permanent settlement were the introduction of bee-keeping and of potato farming. Bee-keeping was for the purpose of providing wax for export to Europe. It was not a success. Potato farming, however, which was for the purpose of providing an alternative food crop to paddy, has continued to this day. For purposes of comparison three sets of statistics are available; those compiled by Buchanan Hamilton during his survey in 1809, those returned by Mr. Crawford after his enquiries in 1871 and the figures collected during the present operations. It is unfortunate that the Revenue Survey Report, which for other districts contains very valuable information, was never published and possibly never even written, for Rangpur.

There are serious difficulties about Buchanan Hamilton's figures. He is dealing with a district which in those days included large areas of Jalpaiguri and Assam. The crop statistics of those areas which must now be excluded are not available separately so that only an estimate can be made on the basis of the area actually under cultivation. The reduction has been made of the area under paddy by one-seventh and the area under the other crops by one-fifth as this is as nearly as can be estimated, the correct relative proportions. In any case the resultant figures cannot be more than very approximate.

The most striking feature is the constant level of paddy cultivation. In Buchanan Hamilton's day the district was paddy exporting and the value of the exports is shown as nearly Rs. 12,00,000. In 1872-73 it is also shown as paddy exporting, though this is very doubtful as the estimated produce was only just sufficient to feed the population as shown by the Census of 1872. At the present time the district is paddy importing as the economic value of cash crops such as jute make it worth the cultivators, while to purchase part of his food supply. The steady increase in the area under jute is also very noticeable, but more striking still is the enormously improved output per acre, a striking refutation of the frequent assertion that land in Bengal is giving diminishing returns owing to un-economic farming. The same improvement is observable also in tobacco, sugarcane and mustard seed. Although the figures for sugarcane show a decline from 1872, due to the competition of imported sugar, it is a crop which readily reacts to market conditions and it is probable that the figures of the present survey do not

Crop.	Buchanan's survey, 1809.		Statistical survey, 1872-73. Lands cropped in acres.	Statistical survey, 1872-73. Estimated produce in maunds.	Present survey.	
	Lands cropped in acres.	Estimated produce in maunds.			Lands cropped in acres.	Estimated produce in maunds.
Paddy (aus and aman)	1,336,856	24,108,333	1,538,333	31,021,332	1,653,056	33,061,120
Wheat	31,157	214,999	35,100	245,770	13,233	..
Mustard seed	197,520	970,141	73,145	438,870	74,642	522,404
Jute	21,387	211,642	117,569	1,058,121	288,972	4,334,580
Tobacco	19,435	188,380	71,204	712,040	63,233	758,796
Sugarcane	6,626	228,200 (Gur).	20,132	573,048 (Gur).	12,397	495,880 (Gur).
Indigo	20,860	....	13,302	..	..	..

represent the real increase of the last two or three years.¹ The causes of the improved outturn are probably to be found in the distribution of improved varieties of seed by the Agricultural Department, a growing appreciation of the value of manure amongst the more enlightened cultivators and the economic urge to more careful farming by the regular demand for the money crops such as jute, tobacco and sugarcane. Curiously enough, the actual implements in use are precisely those of a century ago. The illustrations given in Buchanan Hamilton might have been taken straight from a twentieth century gazetteer.

55. Culturable and unculturable land.—The percentage of culturable and unculturable and uncultivated land of the total land area of the district is given below with comparative figures for other districts of Bengal :—

Districts.	Percentage of—		
	Culturable land not cultivated to the total land area.	Unculturable land to the total land area.	Cultivated land to the total land area.
Rangpur ..	13	10	77
Mymensingh ..	11	19	70
Faridpur ..	8	12	80
Bankura ..	22	31	47
Khulna ..	14	8	78
Dacca ..	6	17	77
Bakarganj ..	12	18	70
Jessore ..	12	10	78

The area of river and *bil* which has been excluded from the total district area for purposes of calculating the percentages is considerable in Rangpur amounting to 248 square miles. Even so the figures indicate the potential wealth of the district, which has only 10 per cent. of its lands unculturable and 13 per cent. of land culturable but not cultivated. Of this latter figure a little more than half is current fallow; that is to say, land which has not been fallow for more than three years.

¹The figures are collected during the cadastral season of each block. The first figures were collected in 1931-32, thus the unusual increase in acreage since that date does not appear in every block; it is certain that the area under sugarcane in 1936 is greatly in excess of what it was in 1931-32.

Thus the percentage of land which could be cultivated but is rarely or never used is only about 6. The classification excluding water is given below thana by thana :—

Serial number and thana name.	Land area.		Culturable but not cultivated.	Percentage.	Unculturable area minus water.		Percentage.	Cultivated area.	
	Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.			Sq. miles.	Sq. miles.		Sq. miles.	Percentage.
1. Hatibandha	105	20	19	10	10	75	71		
2. Kaliganj ..	158	28	17	13	8	117	75		
3. Gangachara	76	8	11	11	14	57	75		
4. Badarganj	161	26	16	8	5	127	79		
5. Rangpur ..	119	19	16	8	7	92	77		
6. Kaunia ..	53	9	17	9	17	35	66		
7. Pirgachha	94	14	15	7	8	73	77		
8. Mithapukur	192	53	17	10	5	149	78		
9. Pirganj ..	152	29	19	8	5	115	75		
10. Sunderganj	151	12	8	18	12	121	80		
11. Sadullapur	87	9	10	5	6	73	84		
12. Fulchhari	91	14	15	33	36	44	49		
13. Galibandha	116	8	7	14	12	94	81		
14. Palashbari	72	7	10	4	5	61	85		
15. Gobindaganj	170	20	12	8	5	142	83		
16. Saghata ..	79	6	8	11	14	62	78		
17. Nageswari	152	21	14	18	12	113	74		
18. Kurigram	93	11	12	19	2	63	68		
19. Ulipur ..	186	18	10	40	2	128	69		
20. Chilmari ..	88	8	9	31	35	49	56		
21. Rahumari	91	14	15	15	16	62	69		
22. Bhuranga-mari ..	85	17	20	6	7	62	73		
23. Fulbari ..	47	9	19	6	13	32	66		
24. Lalmonirhat	125	17	13	12	9	96	78		
25. Domar	95	19	20	4	4	72	76		
26. Dimla ..	120	24	20	11	9	85	71		
27. Jaldhaka	123	25	20	7	5	91	74		
28. Kishoreganj	100	17	17	6	6	77	77		
29. Nilphamari	132	22	16	6	5	104	79		
30. Saidpur ..	45	5	11	3	7	37	82		

As might be expected the percentage of culturable but uncultivated land is least in the fertile jute-growing thanas to the east and is greatest in the north-western areas of Domar, Dimla and Jaldhaka where there is large area of high sandy fallow. The high percentage of unculturable land in Kaunia, Phulchhari, Ulipur, Chilmari and Rahumari is accounted for by sandy chars which have not yet received sufficient silt to render them fit for cultivation. The lowest percentage of unculturable area occurs in the old alluvium of the extreme west and the higher lands of the new alluvium.

36. Twice and thrice cropped land.

—The area of twice cropped land is unusually high amounting to 41 per cent. of the land cropped. Comparative figures of other districts for which this percentage has been calculated are:—

	Per cent.
Bankura	... 37
Mymensingh	... 35
Faridpur	... 12
Khulna	... 3

About 1 per cent. of the area is cropped thrice. The following table shows the area in acres and the percentage of the twice and thrice cropped land in each thana. The percentage of the thrice cropped land is too small to be calculated separately.

Thana.	Twice cropped land.		Thrice cropped land. Area in acres.
	Area in acres.	Percentage of nett area sown.	
1. Hatibandha ..	9,446·32	20	..
2. Kalliganj ..	19,169·76	25	..
3. Gangachara ..	11,273·88	31	62·89
4. Badarganj ..	15,110·95	19	115·09
5. Rangpur ..	22,700·41	39	263·40
6. Kaunia ..	18,470·39	46	190·55
7. Pirgachha ..	28,453·73	43	371·89
8. Mithapukur ..	32,112·21	34	735·46
9. Pirganj ..	19,169·03	26	316·74
10. Sunderganj ..	52,987·07	68	1,394·33
11. Sadullapur ..	21,802·49	47	859·04
12. Fulchhari ..	17,359·52	62	775·47
13. Galbandha ..	40,111·32	67	846·07
14. Palashbari ..	19,889·35	51	1,007·60
15. Golindaganj ..	35,382·58	39	809·46
16. Naghata ..	27,152·04	68	564·08
17. Nageswari ..	37,728·13	52	371·16
18. Kurigram ..	21,427·26	53	79·05
19. Ulipur ..	43,092·81	54	513·79
20. Chilmari ..	14,633·22	47	407·43
21. Rahumari ..	12,134·46	31	805·99
22. Bhurangamari ..	20,993·19	53	..
23. Fulbari ..	8,333·52	42	..
24. Lalmonirhat ..	24,720·57	40	..
25. Domar ..	10,152·65	22	124·04
26. Dimla ..	16,385·21	30	228·30
27. Jaldhaka ..	24,376·38	42	388·18
28. Kishoreganj ..	24,043·89	49	242·61
29. Nilphamari ..	26,066·45	39	432·44
30. Saidpur ..	7,083·86	30	45·30

37. **Soil.**—No soil analysis has been carried out except in the three Government farms in the neighbourhood of the headquarters station. All these soils which are derived from the Tista, were

found to be of a similar nature, rich in nitrogen, phosphate and potash. The Tista silt which has been analysed is found to be poor in lime but rich in magnesia. Geologically the district is sharply divided into an outcrop of stiff reddish clay in the west which is a continuation of the *barind* tract of Dinajpur and Rajshahi and is locally known as *khiyar* and the new alluvium of the remainder of the district, known as *pali*. The soil of the *khiyar* tract contains iron and carbonate of lime, is reddish or greyish in colour and bakes so hard in the months of February, March, April, and May, that without irrigation, it is impervious to the plough and remains a once cropped area of *aman* paddy. Even when ploughing is done, it can only be done lightly as a deep furrow brings to the surface the *kankar* or nodules of carbonate of lime, which prove deleterious to the crop. The *pali* area consists of varying proportions of clay and sand and the local names applied to it vary largely according to its composition. In the north of the district the higher lands which do not receive silt from the *bils* and rivers are known as *bala* or *reti*. They consist more of sand than of clay and grow principally *rabi* crops and *aus* or are left fallow as grazing lands. This type of high sandy lands occurs very little in the southern areas. The medium land consisting of nearly equal quantities of sand and clay is known variously as *doush* or *dorata* on the north and simply as *pali* on the south and east. This type of soil generally receives silt from the rivers or the *bils*, the silt from the latter source being particularly rich in organic matter. The word *pali* is often applied to the actual silt which is deposited on the land, and it is not uncommon to find pure silver sand a few feet below the surface. This is the class of land which makes the district so fertile. It is generally capable of growing two crops such as *aus* and *aman*, or jute and *aman* and occasionally grows a third *rabi* crop in addition. The more clayey soil is called *matial*. It is most common between the tracts of *khiyar* and *pali*. In the char lands of the Tista and Brahmaputra the first formations consist of heavy particles of sand. Gradually *jhau* or tamarisk bushes take root and these catch the river silt after the rains and gradually build up cultivable lands. The *jhau* is not cleared until sufficient *pali* has been deposited to justify the

sowing of a crop. In the Tista this takes two or three years, in the Brahmaputra, four or five.

38. Distribution of the crops.—The detailed figures of the crops grown in each thana are given in Appendix V. Those most widely cultivated are *aman* and *aus* paddy, jute, rape and mustard, tobacco and sugarcane. Paddy is grown everywhere but the principal area is the western *khiyar* tract from Badarganj southwards. Only one crop of *aman* is taken off the land and the yield per acre is greater than elsewhere. *Aus* grows everywhere except this *khiyar* tract. The biggest jute-growing area is the tract of land lying east of the road from Rangpur to Pirgachha and the railway line from Pirgachha to Mahimaganj, including portions of Palashvari and Gobindaganj. A secondary area lies on the north-west, from Chilahati south to Saidpur. This jute, however, is of an inferior quality. Rape and mustard seed is also grown everywhere. The two most prolific areas are the north-eastern thanas of Bhurungamari and Nageswari and the eastern fringe of the south-western *khiyar* tract. Tobacco is grown for commercial purposes in the thanas on either side of the Tista as far south as Kaunia. Elsewhere it is grown for home consumption only. Sugarcane is confined chiefly to the south-western thanas.

39. Aman paddy.—Two types of this crop are grown: *bona* or broadcast and *ropa* or transplanted.¹ Separate figures are not maintained to show their relative distribution, but it can safely be said that the area under broadcast is infinitesimal compared with that under the transplanted type. The broadcast is confined principally to the char areas of the Brahmaputra, the Tista and one or two of the lesser rivers in the north-east where it is sown along with *aus* between the beginning of March and the end of April and harvested in November and December. The *aus* is cut away in June and July before the floods rise too high leaving the *aman*, which is always a long stemmed quick growing variety, to keep pace with the rise in the water level. This method of cultivation has been introduced by the Bhatias from

Mymensingh, Pabna and Bogra. Broadcast *aman* is cultivated, though to a lesser extent, in bil areas and in the silted up beds of old rivers and khals. Sometimes it is grown alone, sometimes mixed with *aus*. The disadvantages of this type are first of all that it gives a lesser yield than transplanted; the figures being 19 maunds per acre as against 20² and, secondly, that it only allows one crop a year off the same land. The principal varieties noticed were *Bangaldhara*, *Dhepa* and *Bheto*.

The transplanted type is in every way a superior crop. The yield per acre is higher, the resulting product is better, the crop is less chancy and the transplantation can be made into land which has already yielded one crop that season. As the staple food crop of the district it is fairly evenly distributed throughout the thanas. It grows on most lands except the very high or the very low and is often planted immediately after a crop of *aus* or jute has been reaped. The method of cultivation differs little from other districts. The seedlings are planted out in specially prepared seed beds, if possible near the homes of the cultivators, during the months of May and June. They are transplanted after about six weeks into fields which have been well ploughed and contain a liberal supply of moisture. After that the cultivator has nothing to do except await the harvest time which is December to January. The amount of seed used varies very considerably but a safe average is 30 seers per acre. As noted above the yield is 20 maunds per acre. The thana variations are considerable and whilst this is partly due to the use of an inexperienced agency, to some extent it is an indication of the relative fertility of the soil.³ The names of the different varieties are legion and they have been

²The figures are those given by the Director of Agriculture.

³Crop cutting experiments were carried out by the Settlement staff on an extensive scale. The figures differ materially from those supplied by the Director of Agriculture. As the kanungos cannot be called an expert agricultural staff, I have adopted the figures of the Agricultural Department for all statistical calculations. I am nevertheless of opinion that they show too large an outturn. The Settlement figures are unanimous that the outturn is lower and it is difficult to understand how all the returns can be wrong. The figures in each thana were the average of a large number of experiments in which fields of normal productivity were taken. The outturn of 1/10th of an acre, in each case, was cut, dried and weighed. The figures showed a varying outturn from 9 maunds per acre up to 20. The low lands gave a better outturn than the high lands and the short stemmed paddy, better than the long stemmed.

¹In the north of the district *aman* paddy is known as "hait" a corruption of haimantic to distinguish it from what is known as "bhatri", a corruption of *bhadoi*.

tabulated in Hunter's Statistical Account of Rangpur. The more common varieties noted by our staff are, however, given below:—

Malsira
Panisail.
Jasoya.
Ganjuja.
Dudhkalam.
Nilkalam.
Kala-sail.
Kansahar.
Ganjra.

Indrasail (found in small quantities near the towns).

Tilkaphul (found principally in Saghata, Phulchhari).

Kataribhog (found in the Khiyar areas of Badarganj).

Of these, Indrasail is an improved strain which the Agricultural Department is attempting to popularise. The returns of the Government seed stores support the views of the Settlement staff that it is slowly being adopted by the more enlightened cultivators.

Boro paddy is grown very little and what there is of it is confined to low bil areas and the rivers.

40. Aus paddy.—*Aus* paddy is widely cultivated and occupies a little more than half the area devoted to *aman*. It grows best in fairly high land containing an equal admixture of clay and sand. One rather singular variety known as *sali* grows in low marsh areas and in the low lands close to the big rivers, though its cultivation is risky as early floods often destroy the entire crop. Like *aman*, *aus* is a staple food crop and is grown in all the thanas, but unlike *aman* it is rarely put on the market for sale; the cultivator grows it to feed himself and his family during the month or two immediately preceding the sale of his jute. Occasionally some big jotedar finds himself with a surplus stock as a result of large *adhi* holdings and places it in the market, but he is lucky if he finds a purchaser for the harvest time is also one of money shortage. The crop is sown early in April and harvested from June onwards. The average outturn is 16·5 maunds per acre and the amount of seed used between 20 and 30 seers.

The crop, however, is broadcast and the amount of seed used is subject to wide local variations. It is not an easy crop to grow as the ground requires intensive ploughing, and weeding has to be done several times. It is usually cut before it is ripe as the ears are damaged very easily. The land in which it is grown is generally *do-fasli* and sometimes as in Lalmonirhat *tin-fasli*. It is preceded by a *rabi* crop and sometimes succeeded by *aman* as well. It is a crop which might well be extended to the *ek-fasli khiyar* tract, where it is hardly grown at present. Experiments in Badarganj, however, have shown that with suitable irrigation the hard clayey soil can be ploughed early in the year and made to yield a second crop, which might well be *aus*.

41. Jute.—Rangpur is the third jute-producing district of Bengal coming next to Mymensingh and Dacca. The prolific thanas which also grow the best jute are Govindaganj, Gaibandha and Sundarganj, the thanas which grow the least are those comprising big areas of char lands. The figures for Nilphamari, Domar and Dimla were compiled early on in the operations. The jute grown there is of an inferior quality and suffers as a result of insufficient steeping water; there is reason to believe that its acreage is steadily decreasing. The method of cultivation is similar to that used elsewhere in Bengal. The field is thoroughly ploughed and harrowed. The seed is broadcast in April and the young plants are carefully tended by repeated weeding and raking. After they have reached the height of one cubit, no further weeding is necessary. The crop is harvested from July to August, steeped, stripped and dried and put on the market a month later. Three to five seers of seeds are used per acre and the average outturn was given by the Director of Agriculture as 15·7 maunds.¹ Enquiries however showed remarkable local variations. In Pirgachha, the outturn was estimated as 10 maunds, in Sadullapur at 20 maunds. In Nilphamari the estimates ranged from 12 to 18 maunds. In Mithapukur it was put as low as 9 maunds. As the jute market is highly organised and the crop is all sold for cash it is probable that these estimates are roughly correct and that the variation in yield of different

¹Crop cutting experiments are done by the Settlement staff for paddy only.

varieties and the effect on the yield of different types of soil is considerable. The local varieties most commonly found are *Mahisa*, *Desi*, *Thoila*. Of the types introduced by the Agricultural Department the most successful have been Chinsurah green and D. 154. A local supply of seeds of the former variety has now been established at Gaibandha. The heaviest yield is estimated to come from D. 154, seeds of which are generally obtained from Rangpur.

42. **Tobacco.**—Tobacco is one of the most important cash crops in the north of the district. The block in which it is principally grown comprises the thanas on either bank of the Tista as far south as Pirgachha. Elsewhere it is grown for domestic consumption rather than for commercial purposes. The fields selected for tobacco are raised plots, near about the homesteads where possible. The soil is light with generally a slight predominance of sand over clay. Seedlings are first grown in August-September on specially prepared beds, and transplanted in October or November to fields which have been ploughed and harrowed to the consistency of fine dust and thoroughly manured. Sometimes the seedlings are purchased in the market in striking contrast to other transplanted crops where the cultivator is always particular to use none other than home grown. The seedlings are planted in rows about a foot apart and regularly irrigated from temporary wells sunk in the corner of the field and fitted with a bamboo hoist by which the water is directed into the irrigation channels running between the lines of plants. A few days after the transplanting, ashes are worked into the soil, round about the roots, as a protection against insect pests. As the plant grows the lower leaves are plucked in order to maintain the number at 5 or 6 and ensure their healthy growth. These early pluckings are called *bispata* and are sold in the local *hats* or to the big tobacco companies for the manufacture of cheap cigarettes. The crop is harvested in March. The amount of seed required per acre is about half a seer and the outturn in the proper tobacco area 12 maunds and elsewhere between 9 and 10 maunds. Two varieties are chiefly grown. *Matihar* (*nicotina rustica*), a wild variety which is variously known as *bombai* or *bilati* and *bhengi* (*nicotina tabacum*) known also as *desi* or *jati*.

The former has a round crinkly leaf, the latter, a straight pointed one. Attempts have been made to introduce exotic types and the Government experimental tobacco farm at Burirhat has achieved considerable success with Manila, Sumatra and Pennsylvania leaf. Large outturns have been secured both with varieties grown in the shade and in the open. So far however these exotic varieties have not been proved commercially sound and the cultivators are hesitant to adopt them. It has recently been shown by experiment that the yield can be increased considerably if the following crop rotation is adopted:—

Year.	Crop	Sown.	Harvested.
1st	(1) Tobacco	.. September-October.	March.
	(2) Fodder crop	.. June	.. September.
	(3) Fallow for rabi season.		
2nd	(1) Aus	.. April	.. July.
	(2) Leguminous crop.	September-October.	March.
3rd	(1) Arhar	.. July	.. March.
4th	(1) Fodder crop	.. June	.. September.
	(2) Fallow for rabi season.		
5th	(1) Green manure crop.	April	.. July.
	(2) Tobacco	c	

This however, is not followed; the most the cultivators will allow is a fallow between each crop. Even this is not always done and in some areas a *bhadoi* crop such as *aus* is taken off the land between each tobacco crop.

The crop is exported from the district to Calcutta, Burma and South India where it is used in the manufacture of cheroots. The cheaper varieties are sold locally and in East Bengal as hookah tobacco.

43. **Sugarcane.**—The sugarcane crop is of growing importance at the present time. It has received a fillip during the last two or three years by the restriction of the area under jute, thus creating a demand amongst the cultivators for a second money crop. The duty on imported sugar has led, through the general stimulus to the sugar industry, to the establishment of a small factory at Rangpur and a large factory at Setabganj in Dinajpur. The cultivator has thus two outlets for his crop. He can either manufacture gur or, if the price of gur falls abnormally low, can sell his cane to the factories.

Whilst the cane is grown in small quantities in all thanas the major proportion comes from a compact area running from thana Badarganj in the north to Gobindaganj in the south. It is generally grown in a light dry soil on land of medium height though in Badarganj a variety known as *kheri* has been successfully cultivated in the *khiyar* lands. It is a crop which demands a good deal of care and labour and occupies the land for more than a year. Ploughing commences in November and continues until February the land meanwhile being heavily manured. The cuttings are then planted in rows about nine inches apart. An acre of land would normally require about 10,000 cuttings. As they grow, fresh earth is heaped round the roots and drainage channels are cut between the rows. When the plants are about three feet high four or five of them are tied together by their lower leaves to keep them erect and protect them against insects. About September four or five of these groups of plants are tied together and in the very tall varieties they are sometimes trained up bamboo-poles. The crop is cut from mid-January to mid-February. The same field cannot be used in two successive years though the harmful practice of ratooning, by which the old roots are allowed to sprout and give a second, though greatly diminished crop, is sometimes followed. The yield varies considerably but the general estimate was somewhere between 270 and 340 maunds of cane per acre. A reasonable average would be 300 though this by no means represents a maximum as experimental areas have produced more than 600 maunds per acre. The sucrose content of the cane varies from 10 per cent. to 14 per cent. whilst the amount of gur extracted is on the average 40 maunds per acre.¹ Various varieties are found. The most common are *gendari* which accounts for about three quarters of the crop and *hendamukhi* which is popular in the south. *Gendari* is a hard cane which suffers less than the others from the depredations of jackals. *Kajli* and *kheri* are also found. The improved strains *astamukhi*, *saheban* and *Co. 213* which are being popularised by the

Agricultural Department, have not yet made much headway although cultivators who have used *Co. 213*, a flowering variety, praise it enthusiastically.

44. **Other products.**—Among other crops of some commercial or domestic importance are mustard, potatoes and the betel vine. Mustard is grown throughout the district on *danga* lands which support also a second *bhadoi* crop such as *aus*. It is grown most extensively in the north-eastern thanas of Nageswari and Bhurangamari, and on a strip of high land running down the west of the district. It yields six or seven maunds an acre and is used for the preparation of mustard oil which is consumed locally. The bye-product is used as cattle food. Potatoes are cultivated everywhere on plots of high sandy land in the vicinity of the *bastis*. Near the towns potato cultivation is carried on as a form of market gardening and attempts have been made to introduce the Naini Tal potato (*Solanum Tuberosum*) which is superior in yield and quality to the two common varieties the *sil-belati*, a variety of the Naini Tal and the *sada abu* (*Batatus Edulis*). Away from the towns it is grown as a food crop and only the surplus finds its way on to the market. The yield is about 70 maunds an acre and the method of cultivation similar to that of tobacco. The betel vine (*piper betel*) or pan is grown extensively in the central western tract running south from Rangpur to Palashbari. In this area the *panbaraj* is a familiar sight. It consists of a raised platform of earth about three feet high and covering an area between one-tenth and one-fifth of an acre, surmounted by a rectangular shed of split bamboo roofed with thatching grass. Inside, the vine is trained up sticks of split bamboo which are tied together in groups of four known as *Kathis*. The terminology is distinctive:—

4 Kathis = 1 mut.

2 muts = 1 gachh.

100 gachhes = 1 anna.

An acre of land yields approximately 60 annas and the profit is very high amounting to about Rs. 200. The cultivation is hedged in with superstition. It is commonly believed that the erection of a new *panbaraj* will

¹The Director of Agriculture gives a district average of 28.6 maunds. This appears to be unreasonably low. Careful enquiries were made by our staff over a large area and the cultivators were emphatic—that they got 40 to 50 maunds. Their tendency when talking to Government officials would be to minimise rather than exaggerate the amount.

be marked by death in the family—a superstition for which it would not be unfair to guess an economic origin. Necessity however has proved stronger than superstition and the cultivation which was formerly restricted to one or two castes of Hindus is now spreading to the Muslims also. The betel-nut (areca catechu) which is eaten with the *pan* leaf is grown widely in the *pali* areas on the edge of the homestead lands.

Minor cereal crops are wheat, barley and maize which are to be found scattered in small patches over most of the high lands and kaon (*setaria italica*) and china (*panicum* and *italicum*) two varieties of millet which are grown in the char areas and are used by the char dwellers to eke out their supplies of rice.

Various vegetables are grown round about the homestead lands. Amongst the more common are—

- Brinjal (*solanum malagena*).
- Patal (*trichosanthes dioica*).
- Kumra (*cucurbita pepo*).
- Lau (*lagenaria vulgaris*).
- Kochu (*colocasia antiquorum*).

Pulses are grown on inferior lands, generally as a supplementary crop to *aus* paddy. The chief varieties met with are—

- Mung kalai (*phaseolus radiatus*).
- Mash kalai (*phaseolus mungo*).
- Khesari (*lathyrus sativa*).
- Chhola (*cicer arietinum*).
- Musur kalai (*ervam lens*).

Fruit is not cultivated on a commercial scale. Mangoes are plentiful and are found throughout the district. Their quality, however, is poor. Jack fruit is also plentiful and a few are to be seen on sale at most of the *hats*, but they are little in demand. Especially in the south and east of the district plantains are to be found round most of the homesteads. They are of two kinds, the *kancha kata* (*musa paradisiaca*) used as vegetables and the *bichan kata* or malbhog (*musa sapientum*) used for eating. The other products of commercial value are bamboos and thatching grass. The feathery clumps of bamboos are familiar sights by every homestead, except on the char areas and they have considerable sale for constructing fishing traps, house walls, machans, etc.

45. Manure.—Although manure is not used for all the crops the cultivators are quite alive to its advantages, and use it liberally in the cultivation of tobacco and sugarcane. Every house has its refuse pit just outside the courtyard and into this go all the house sweepings until required for the fields. Cattle dung is also collected and thrown in when it is not used as fuel. Tobacco fields are given between 200 and 300 maunds of manure per acre according to the ability of the cultivator to obtain supplies. This is usually a mixture of cowdung and house sweepings. Well-to-do cultivators add three or four maunds of mustard cake and sometimes a small quantity of dried fish which is reputed to improve the colour of the leaf. In addition to the manure which is applied in this way, some natural manuring is done by the cattle which are allowed to graze in the land between crops. Sugarcane is another crop which is invariably manured, the estimates varying between 100 and 150 maunds per acre. The manure used is invariably cowdung. Oilcake is also used for the cultivation of young betel-nut trees. For paddy and jute, manure is rarely applied. In the paddy fields the stubble is usually burnt after the harvest and the ashes act as a fertiliser. In the one crop *khiyar* tract some additional manure is essential and in lieu of anything better earth is dug out of the beds of tanks and khals and heaped round the fields in small mounds to be ploughed into the *khiyar* as soon as the rains make it feasible. As a general rule *khiyar* tracts require 50 per cent. more manure than *pali* areas. Chemical fertilizers are not used at all and green manuring rarely. It is thus not true to say, as it often is said that the cultivator is not alive to the advantages of proper manuring. When he can afford to do so and when he realises that it is essential, he applies manure but at the same time he is under the economic necessity of keeping the costs of cultivation down to a bare minimum. The manure he applies consists of the waste products of his holding and costs him virtually nothing. If he is to spend income on manure then it means a complete revolution in the village economy and the substitution of intensive cultivation and high yielding crops for the existing system. It has yet to be demonstrated, especially in times of acute over production, that the change would be beneficial rather than harmful. The following

quotation from a report by the Imperial Bacteriologist, Calcutta, sums up the position :—

"The introduction into Indian agricultural practice of high yielding varieties of crops and of improved implements of tillage render it necessary to make corresponding provisions to avoid depletion of soil fertility by replacement of the extra amount of plant food removed from the soil by these improved crops and implements. I have come to the conclusion that as a result of experience the Indian cultivator has adopted a system of cultivation which deliberately aims at securing a medium rather than a maximum, as his experience showed that intensive cultivation in many cases resulted in a loss of fertility."

Whether the present method of conserving waste manure is adequate, is another question entirely. The answer is clearly no. Refuse pits near about the houses are invariably uncovered; this brings about considerable diminution in the fertilising properties of the refuse. Another wasteful and uneconomic habit is the use of cowdung as fuel. In a country where wood can be had for the cutting, this can only be attributed to laziness.

46. Cattle.—The main heads of the livestock census are reproduced below for convenience—

Number of—

Bulls	...	32,705
(Government Farm)	...	1,099
Bullocks	...	550,107
Cows	...	473,690
Calves	...	417,012
Male buffaloes	...	24,840
Female buffaloes	...	6,021
Buffalo calves	...	1,950
Sheep	...	12,798
Goats	...	320,395

The old fallow which represents the potential grazing ground available is 137,701 acres or one-thirteenth an acre per animal. The actual public grazing land is of course less than this but it must be assumed that a cultivator will

graze on his own fallow, though it may not be available to all. Even so the position is absurd when compared with, for instance Great Britain, where there are more than 31 million acres of permanent pasture land for about 8 million cattle and in addition three-fourths of an acre of fodder crop for every head. This problem of overcrowding is a serious one which has not yet been tackled by either the local or central authorities.

Separate figures are not kept to show which cattle are bred in Bengal and which imported from Bihar. Certainly in every cold weather the big cattle melas at Darwani, Panga, Badarganj and Birat are stocked with upcountry cattle which are purchased by the well-to-do cultivators. Sales, however, have fallen off of recent years on account of the depression as not only do the prices of the upcountry cattle exceed that of those bred in this district, but their maintenance costs are higher. Probably these upcountry cattle, at the present time, form less than 15 per cent. of the total cattle population. Of their superiority over the local stock there is no question. They are much larger and much stronger. The reasons for this are twofold; the local stock is underfed, and it is bred from immature bulls. The deleterious effect of underfeeding is apparent from the rapid deterioration of the Bihar animals once they are established in Rangpur. Apart from the lack of grazing grounds which has been mentioned above, there is an acute shortage of fodder crops. Only a little over 26,000 acres are planted, clearly an entirely inadequate area to support such an enormous stock. As a rule the cattle get only a little chopped paddy straw with a small amount of salt and in the case of good Behar cattle owned by well-to-do cultivators, an occasional feed of oilcake. It has been shown by experiments at the Dacca Cattle Farm that straw alone, though a valuable roughage, is deficient as a food unless supplemented with a concentrate such as linseed cake. Breeding is generally done before the bulls are three years of age. After that they are castrated and put to work in carts or in the plough. This is partly because they are required for work and partly because otherwise they are apt to be a nuisance and expensive to maintain. Needless to say, breeding under such circumstances is bound to be poor. Cows too are frequently used for ploughing, a practice

¹The Cattle Census Report of 1915 states that the grazing available is 1 acre for 35 cattle. This was based on returns from panchayets and seems to refer to public grazing grounds and not to include fallow in holdings. It is thus a deceptive figure and gives an unnecessarily pessimistic view of the situation.

which seems peculiar to North Bengal and when applied during breeding is bound to react unfavourably. The one area, where at least the first factor does not operate, is the char land of the Brāhmaputra. There, for most of the year there is ample grazing land and the result is to be seen in the better stature and longer life of the cattle.

The better class bullocks are used for draught purposes; the weaker bullocks and cows being put to the plough. The area which can be cultivated in a year by a pair of cattle is thus small. It does not exceed 7 acres in higher *pali* lands and 4 acres of low land or *khiyar*. Buffaloes are occasionally used for cultivation by the Santhals, but are generally kept for draught purposes. They can work harder than bullocks in the cold weather but they suffer severely if put to work in great heat and their efficiency is consequently impaired. They are rarely bred in this district except by Santhals. This explains the excess of males over females. The bulls which appear in the list are practically all under three years of age. Except on Government and Union Board farms mature bulls are not maintained for breeding purposes.

Various estimates have been made as to the amount spent each year to maintain a pair of cattle. A well-to-do

cultivator may spend Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a poor cultivator is unlikely to spend more than Rs. 3 or Rs. 4. The amount spent in maintenance in the east of the district (except for the char lands) is greater than in the north and in the west. As a general conclusion it may be stated that as little as possible is spent in maintenance and that this combined with inefficient breeding, rather than a purely climatic reason, is responsible for their poor stature and short working life.

47. **The profits of cultivation.**—An attempt has been made to calculate the net profits resulting from the cultivation of four principal crops. For comparison similar figures have been compiled from the statistical table published by Mr. Crawford in 1871. The rise in the profit from paddy cultivation is marked and is probably accounted for by the fact that in 1871 the paddy market was unorganised. The high profits from tobacco cultivation are due to the outturns of 24 maunds per acre, adopted by Mr. Crawford. This is almost certainly an over-estimate. On the present day outturn the profit would be reduced to Rs. 40-8. The basis on which the costs of cultivation were calculated is not known.

I. Profit and cost of cultivation, 1933-34.

Name of crop.	Yield of 1 acre in maunds.	Value at prevailing price.		Price of seeds per acre.	Cost of ploughing and manure.	Cost of weeding and transplanting.	Cost of reaping.	Cost of cartage to threshing ground.	Cost of threshing or separating the fibres.	Cost of marketing.	Rent of land.	Total cost.	Net profit.	Profit excluding labour costs where not usually incurred.
		Main crop.	By-product.											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Aman paddy.	20	35	2	2 0	4 0	1 12	1 12	1 8	1 0	1 8	3 3	16 11	20 5	28 9
Jute ..	15·7	51	..	1 0	5 10	9 0	6 0	1 8	6 0	1 8	3 3	33 13	17 3	43 13
Sugar cane	300	75	..	3 12	5 10*	9 0	6 0	..	..	6 0	3 3	41 1	33 15	54 9
		150 (Gur)	..	..	7 8†	9 0	6 0	..	4	6 0	3 3	52 5 (gur)	97 11 (gur)	118 5 (gur)
					13 2				11 4 (for manufacture)					
Tobacco	12	96	8	2 0	5 10* 15 0† 20 10	10 0 (watering and attending crop).	6 0	1 0	..	..	3 3	42 13	61 3	61 3

*Ploughing

†Manure.

II. Profit and cost of cultivation in 1871 (Mr. Crawfords' figures.)

Name of crop.	Outturn per acre.	Rent and cost of cultivation per acre without hand labour.	Value of cost for 1 acre of land.	Net profit excluding all labour costs.
	Mds.	Rs. a.	Rs.	Rs. a.
Aman paddy ..	18	4 8	12	7 8
Jute ..	15	7 8	45	37 8
Sugarcane ..	27 (gur)	44 4 (including manufacture of gur).	108 (gur)	63 12 (gur)
Tobacco ..	24*	13 8	108	94 8

*Appears to be a gross over-estimate.

The prices are those prevailing during the agricultural year 1933-34. The rent in each case is the average incident of rent for an occupancy raiyat in the district though this may be an over-estimate in the case of jute and paddy when a second crop is frequently grown on the same land during the same year. The standard outturn of each crop has been adopted for purposes of calculation and it has been assumed that all the work was done by hired labour. The resultant figures are necessarily artificial and in the case of *aman* paddy, do not represent receipts in cash; a cultivator will generally keep and sell only the surplus. The varying use of labour presents another difficulty. The small cultivator will manage with the help of his family, sufficient to feed himself and his family. The larger cultivator is bound to seek outside help. In the last column all the labour charges except those normally incurred by an occupancy raiyat holding 3 acres of land, the most usual size of a holding have been deducted. It must, however, be remembered that none of the figures make an attempt to allow for the cost of living of the cultivator and his family, or for the depreciation of cattle and agricultural implements, and further that whilst sugarcane invariably, and tobacco generally, have to keep the cultivator for 12 months, a crop of *aman* paddy and a crop of jute are often taken off the same piece of land within the same year and even if this is not done a second crop of some description is usual. In the case of *aman* paddy, for instance, the cultivator rarely employs labour except in reaping. Therefore in column 14 the net profit including all labour charges is shown. In column 15 all labour charges except those of reaping have been excluded. The price of paddy has been

calculated at Re. 1-12 per maund. Labour costs have been calculated at five labourers to the rupee per day, including the cost of their two meals which would be provided for them. The field is to be ploughed five times taking 15 days and harrowed five times taking 5 days. There is no expenditure on manure for *aman* paddy.¹ Transplanting and reaping are calculated at nine days each and the transport as one bullock cart for one day. It is clear that *aman* paddy affords a poor profit if cultivated by hired labour unless a very large area is put under the crop. Even in the bigger holdings cultivators have adopted the *ghata* system of cultivation to meet the hard times. By this method a group of neighbours pool their resources of cattle, ploughs and manpower and deal with the fields one after another. By this means the delays consequent in the excessive fragmentation of holdings are to some extent avoided. The system is an old one but of recent years it has grown more popular.

Labour is not usually employed at all for jute unless more than three acres is grown. No expenditure has been allowed for manure, though occasionally house sweepings, for which no price can be estimated, are ploughed into the land. The ploughing and harrowing is twenty-eight days' labour for one man. Weeding is an exacting task and must be done continuously until the plants are more than two feet high. Forty-five days' labour for one man has been allowed and thirty days for steeping and stripping. The profit is small but Rs. 3-4 per maund is almost a rock bottom price. With a normal price of Rs. 7 per maund the profit would increase by Rs. 59. In spite of the slump in price it was still worth the while of the cultivators to grow it since it furnished him with money during an awkward season and it was only with the greatest reluctance and under a good deal of indirect pressure that he agreed to the restriction scheme two years later. The profit from sugarcane cultivation depends on whether the cultivator sells his cane to a sugar mill or manufactures gur. The price of the cane has been calculated at annas 4 per maund and the cuttings at annas 6 per thousand. The labour cost

¹This is not strictly true as the *khiyar* lands are lightly manured, but most of the paddy area in Rangpur is not *khiyar* and no manure is given, only the stubble of the old crop is burned before ploughing.

has been calculated at twenty-eight days, for seven ploughings and harrowings, and the price of one hundred and fifty maunds of manure at Rs. 7-8. The cost of weeding, irrigating and later draining would be forty-five days' labour and the cost of reaping thirty days' labour. The cartage for marketing the cane is heavy. Preparing gur would appear to be more profitable. Assuming that an acre of sugarcane produces forty maunds of gur, which is a heavy conservative estimate, the value at the market price of Rs. 3-12 would be Rs. 150. Against this would have to be offset the cost of preparing the gur which would be—

	Rs. a.
Hire of a crusher and boiling pan for five days	6 4
Labour of 5 men for 5 days ..	5 0
	<hr/> 11 4 <hr/>

The cost of marketing would be about the same, so that the apparent increase in profit would be Rs. 63-12. There are certain risks about the manufacture of gur which have to be taken into account. The market is very unstable, in fact it can hardly be said to exist. Even within the same district prices vary enormously. The normal price is Rs. 6 per maund but in 1935-36 it varied between Rs. 4 and Rs. 2. Another consideration is that the gur has to be collected in earthenware matkis and with primitive transport, breakages are not uncommon. To avoid this some cultivators solidify the gur into balls but the profit is thereby reduced. Most of the cane is actually made into gur locally but the sale of cane to the mills at Setabganj and Rangpur is considerable.

Tobacco requires constant attention and if as much as an acre is sown, labour is invariably hired to tend and water the crop, to remove the *bispata* at suitable intervals, and ultimately to pluck the ripe tobacco leaf. The ground is heavily manured and the cost of manure has been calculated on a consumption of three hundred maunds. The cost of cartage from the field to the maturing hut is negligible as the tobacco fields are usually in the vicinity of the *basti*. The cost of marketing is also nil as, except when very small holdings are concerned, the purchase is made by agents who visit the house of the cultivators. The bye-product,

which is the *bispata*, has been estimated at four maunds and the price at Rs. 2 per maund.

Chapter V—Communication and trade.

48. **Roads.**—In his district map prepared between 1767 and 1771 Rennell shows a network of roads connecting Rangpur with all the important centres such as Jalpaiguri, Sibganj, Mogalhat, Kurigram, Ulipur and Ghoraghat. Of these, the principal one was the road running from Ghoraghat through Rangpur to Cooch Behar, traditionally known as Rajah Nilambar's Road. From Gobindaganj there was a route through Mymensingh to Dacca and one from Rangpur through Dinajpur and Godagari to Murshidabad and Calcutta. During the period of confusion that marked the Company's early experiments in administration it is clear that the road system fell into a serious state of disrepair. Writing in June 1800, Mr. Wordsworth, the Magistrate, reported—

“Exclusive of the great western road leading to Dinajpore, and the several cross roads immediately adjacent to this station (all of which have been constructed by the convicts within the last four years, and are kept in perfect repair by them), there are many old zamindari roads or high causeways in different parts of this district, which, during the old Mughal Government, were always kept in perfect repair by the respective zamindars, but having since our accession to the dewanee been totally neglected, are now gone to decay, and are in general, impassable. There are no roads repaired by any person within this district except those above-mentioned and a few private ones leading to the factories established by the European gentlemen resident here, and which are always done at their own private expense and tend greatly to the accommodation of the inhabitants.”

By “constructed” the Magistrate evidently means repaired as the Dinajpur Road is clearly marked in Rennell and in fact, had always been the first stage of the company's official *dak* route to Calcutta. He went on to suggest certain improvements, most of which involved repairing the old highways. In fact if we exclude the present road from Rangpur to Gaibandha, which was

constructed when the old subdivisional headquarters of Bhawaniganj was washed away, it is difficult to find a single highway of first class importance which did not exist in the time of Rennell. Many of the roads have shifted their position and many diversions have been subsequently constructed by the District Board, on the old Imperial roads,¹ but the general alignment remains unaltered. Many new feeder roads of considerable importance have been added—a great impetus having been given during the famine relief operations of 1874.

The result is that the district is now traversed by a regular network of roads which are more than sufficient to meet the needs of its inhabitants. 2,539 miles are maintained by the District Board and Local Boards, 46½ miles by the Municipalities of Gaibandha and Rangpur and an immense number of shorter and less important roads by the various Union Boards. The problem is one of maintenance. The sandy nature of the soil renders the surface intolerably dusty and extremely rough in the winter and the summer. Its advantage in the rains is that it dries rapidly and consolidates into a reasonably smooth surface so that there are few days during which the surface is too muddy to allow traffic to pass. There are no serious undulations, such as make the roads so difficult to maintain in Eastern Bengal, and consequently there is no need to embank them to any great height, except in the north-east where the roads are noticeably inferior and very little attempt is made to maintain them. The upkeep of the bridges alone throws a heavy strain on the resources of the local authorities who, in the past, have been fortunate in the help they have received from philanthropically minded landowners. The only criticism that can be made, and it is perhaps unfair to criticise where means are so noticeably lacking, is that the roads though plentiful are still only fit for the primitive bullock cart traffic for which they were used a century ago. No motor service of any degree of efficiency can ply profitably where the wear and tear occasioned by the rough service is so

heavy. Sixty years ago the trunk road from Rangpur to the Kaliganj ferry, near Bhawaniganj, the headquarters of what is now the Gaibandha subdivision, was paved throughout. To-day there is not an inch of pukka road outside the towns.

The most important roads now are given below—

Origin.	Routes.	Destination.
Rangpur	.. Kishoreganj	.. Chilahati.
Ditto	.. Paglapir and Barati..	.. Saidpur.
Saidpur	.. Nilphamari and Domar	.. Chilahati.
Rangpur	.. Kaunia and Tista	.. Kurigram.
Ditto	.. Mithapukur, Pirganj, Palasbari, Gobindaganj.	.. Bogra.
Ditto	.. Pirgachha, Bamandanga, Naldanga, Katatpara.	.. Gaibandha.
Gaibandha	.. ..	.. Palasbari.
Ditto	.. Sadullapur	.. Pirganj, Baradar-ga.
Gobindaganj	.. ..	.. Mahimaganj.
Kurigram	.. Nageswari	.. Bhurungamari.
Ditto	.. Ulipur	.. Chilmari.

The Rangpur-Chilahati Road links up the main *hats* in the area between the Tista and the main line of the Eastern Bengal Railway. It is also linked to Nilphamari, Domar and Dimla. The Rangpur-Saidpur Road acquires its importance after Paglapir when it taps a rich tobacco area, and also the jute area round Kishoreganj. The traffic along this road to Saidpur is very heavy; a lesser amount of traffic comes in the opposite direction, to Rangpur. The Saidpur-Chilahati Road is of local importance as a feeder to the jute and paddy markets at Darwani, Nilphamari and Domar. The Rangpur-Kurigram Road is again of local importance. It originally formed part of the Rangpur-Dhubri Road, but no importance now attaches to the portion running north-east from Kurigram to Dhubri. The Kurigram-Chilmari Road has now replaced the old Imperial road direct from Rangpur to Chilmari, across the Tista. The journey can now be made by rail to Kurigram and thence, without any river crossing, to Ulipur or Chilmari and across the Brahmaputra to Rahumari. The Bogra Road which forms part of the old military route from Ghoraghat to Cooch Behar, is the main line of communication through the south-west of the district. It links up five thana headquarters and by means of the Palasbari and Sadullapur connecting roads, enables the rice from the western *khiyar* tracts to reach Gaibandha. The further extension

¹An Imperial road is one which was in existence before Act XLII of 1850 was passed. This Act vested the proprietary right of all public roads, then in existence, in Government. Most Imperial roads date from the 18th century.

from Gobindaganj to Mahimaganj opens up a rich jute area to the Gaibandha-Santahar railway line. The Rangpur-Gaibandha Road, to some extent, duplicates the railway but forms an important feeder route to the marts at Pirgacha, Bamandanga, Naldanga and Kamarpara.

49. Railways.—Railway communication is excellent. The main North-Bengal line of the Eastern Bengal Railway enters the district just south of Saidpur and leaves it north of Chilahati. From Parbatipur the Assam metre gauge line runs *via* Kaunia, Tista junction and Lalmanirhat. From Kaunia it is connected through Gaibandha and Bogra, with Santahar and through Bonarpara with Tistamukh Ghat and Eastern Bengal. From Tista junction a branch line runs to Kurigram and from Lalmonirhat another runs to Dalsingpara and Jainti. Lalmonirhat is also the terminus of the Bengal Dooars Railway.

50. River communication.—Steamer communication is confined to the Brahmaputra where the Goalundo-Bahadurabad mail plies daily between Phulchhari Ghat and Bahadurabad. The Assam-Sundarbans despatch also calls at Phulchhari, Kamarjani, Chilmari and Rahumari but is mainly used for goods traffic and no longer runs to any specified time table. The inland rivers are used for goods traffic during the rains but not much at other times of the year. Although the Tista will take large boats at any season it is a treacherous river, full of shifting sand banks and is not popular as a highway except during the rains when it is used for the transport of tobacco and jute. The Karatoa and Katakhalī are also used extensively when there is sufficient water, for transporting gur and jute. The other rivers, the Dharla, Ghagat, Manas, etc., are used for local traffic only.

51. Effect of railway and steamer communications on the road system.—With kutcha roads that are apt to contain broken bridges or occasional breaches there can be no question of road transport setting up as an effective rival to the railway and steamer routes except

over short distances and for purely internal trade. Thus the function of the roads is becoming more and more that of a feeder service to the railway centres and steamer ghats. The process is by no means complete and roads such as that from Saidpur to Chilahati, Rangpur to Gaibandha and Rangpur to Kurigram still duplicate the railway service, but they are tending more and more to be used for purely local and internal purposes. The former great inter-district roads such as that from Rangpur to Dhubri or from Rangpur to Dinajpur have fallen into disuse. Only the Rangpur to Bogra Road survives as it serves an area without railway communication. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that there are still a number of comparatively small hats such as Tengumari or Ranipukur which are served by innumerable unnecessary roads but they cannot vie in importance with the growing trade centres near the railway stations. Many of the old commercial centres have diminished in importance to such an extent that the roads leading to them are no longer properly maintained. The old road from Domar to what was once the flourishing ghat of Ghoramara on the Tista is now impassable at its eastern end and instead of the traffic flowing from the west to the east as was intended when the road was originally constructed, it flows east-west to Domar station. The same tendency is visible inland from the Karatoa. Formerly the important roads ran from places like Gobindaganj and Palasbari, westward to the marts on the banks of the Karatoa. Now these roads have become unimportant and the direction of the traffic is northwards to Parbatipur and Badarganj or eastwards to Gaibandha and Mahimaganj. The Tista has become an obstacle that it is hardly worthwhile to surmount by road. Instead of following the old Imperial road direct from Rangpur to Ulipur and Chilmari, traffic follows the combined road and rail route through Kurigram, whilst exports from the vicinity of the Brahmaputra concentrate more and more on the steamer ghats of the big country boat stations. One very important road that has been developed by the steamer traffic is the route from Tura, the capital of the Garo Hills, through Manikachar and Rahumari village to the Rahumari steamer ghat. The old land routes to Dhubri and Mymensingh are hardly ever used nowadays. *

In the rains, country boat traffic on the Karatoa flourishes as the gur traders find it the most suitable medium for exporting their goods.

52. Marketing the produce.—The methods adopted by the cultivators for marketing their produce vary widely according as to whether they are dealing with an organised market or not. Jute, tobacco, sugar and to some extent paddy, may be called organised. The market for other products is not. Two principal factors determined the state of the jute market. On the one hand the dealers at the big centres are in daily telegraphic communication with Calcutta and the prices and the state of the market there, largely determine their buying policy, and on the other hand the cultivators like to sell their crop as early possible; jute is expensive to store, it is dangerously inflammable and if kept for any length of time must be stocked in a corrugated tin shed. Also at the time it is ready for the market the shortage of money is beginning to be felt in the villages. The entire crop, with the exception of an infinitesimal amount kept for domestic purposes, is exported and to deal with the exchange between the cultivator and the large dealer an extensive middleman business has sprung up. The first grade of middlemen are known as a *farias* or *kani paikars*. They concentrate mainly on a house to house purchase from the larger cultivators. They sell to another class known as *beparis* who are in a larger way of business and who also purchase from the various *hats* where the small cultivators, who are not worth a visit by the *farias* and *kani paikars*, take their produce. The *beparis* sell to the big dealers, mainly Marwaris, who have their godowns at the exporting centres. Two other classes of middlemen sometimes intervene. The first is the *dalal*. He is a broker pure and simple and is engaged by the exporter to induce selected *beparis* to bring their jute to one centre. He also acts as adviser when advances are made to the *beparis*. The second is the *aratdar* who is the owner of a godown which he lets out to the *beparis* on commission. Although he does not become the owner of the jute, he retains an interest in the profit derived from it. A rough form of grading is done on contract sales only. A sample is sent before the deal is closed and the standard fixed. In the *hats* the worst jute is put aside and sold at a low price, the

remainder is generally mixed and sold as a medium quality. The catastrophic fall in the price of jute has done something to reduce this uneconomic middleman trade. The *dalals* have almost disappeared and with them went the system of cash advances to the *beparis*. In some of the larger *hats* the exporters have constructed their own godowns and deal direct with the smaller middlemen. The system is one in which the scales are weighted heavily against the cultivator. He has generally cleared his jute by the middle of November; only the wealthy jotedars can afford to hold it up longer than that. The inevitable rise in price later in the season profits only the middlemen and the exporter, who frequently store the jute until well on into February. The failure of the Co-operative Department to grapple successfully with the problem of how to market the crop with a fair return to the cultivator has been one of the biggest disappointments of the last decade.

The principal exporting centres from the area east of the Tista are Bhurungamari, Lalmonirhat, Kurigram and Chilmari. The first three are rail exporting centres; the bulk of the exports of this area, however, leaves by steamer from Chilmari. In the north-west Domar and Saidpur are the biggest markets, though large quantities also leave from Nilphamari and Darwani. The exporting centres of the south, in order of importance, are Gaibandha, Mahimaganj, and Naldanga and for the centre, Rangpur and Badarganj. Gaibandha, Mahimaganj and Naldanga tap the extreme south-western areas which are not served by railway, whilst the jute from the north of this area goes to Badarganj and Rangpur. In addition to this there is considerable export by country boat from the south-east of the district and it is generally believed that a good deal of the jute exported in this manner goes first to Sarisabari where it receives the Mymensingh mark which commands a higher price than that of Rangpur. The small *hats* where a little jute is sold are too numerous to mention; they are to be found everywhere in the jute areas and serve mainly to feed the larger centres.

Tobacco is not organised to the same extent as jute. A good deal of the crop is purchased by *beparis* or *paikars* who visit the houses of the larger cultivators. The same men purchase the tobacco in the *hats* and sell to the

brokers who act for the exporters. A few Burmese merchants visit the district each season and make their purchases through brokers'. They generally erect or hire godowns at the railway centres such as Rangpur, Nilphamari, Domar or Kaunia where the tobacco can be properly matured, as the cultivators sell it in a half matured condition. The Marwari exporters who send the tobacco principally to Calcutta and East Bengal have their godowns in the centre of the tobacco area at places like Bertubandha and Bansdaha in Jaldhaka, Shibhat in Rangpur, Haragachh and Khansama in Kaunia. The exports from the belt west of the Tista go mainly from Rangpur, Saidpur, Nilphamari and Domar, those from the east of the Tista, from Tista junction and Lalmonirhat. For some years there was an export of exotic varieties to South India. This was financed by a European firm in Calcutta which established an experimental farm at Burirhat and encouraged the cultivators to grow Havana and Sumatra leaf by making advances of money and chemical fertiliser. It was not however a commercial success and closed down in 1935. Since then exotic varieties have been cultivated on an experimental basis by the Government farm at Burirhat and an attempt has been made to start a local cigar factory, but the leaf is not exported.

The sugarcane grower is mainly concerned with the marketing of gur (unrefined sugar) which he manufactures himself. The whole-time middleman has made very little inroad into this business. Much of the gur is sold locally by the cultivators themselves at the small *hats*. That which is exported is purchased by *beparis* who are themselves part-time cultivators. The only exporting area is the south-west of the district. Most of the gur is despatched down the Karatoa and then *via* the Katakali to Mymensingh and other districts of East Bengal, as soon as there is sufficient water in the river to enable the boats to pass freely. Merchants from these areas either keep permanent godowns near the river and purchase their stocks from the local *beparis* or make speculative voyages to the area when the season commences. Speculative purchases of gur are very common as prices vary enormously not

only from district to district, but even within the same district. The cultivator is faced with the same dilemma here as in the case of jute. Gur is difficult to store; it is apt to deteriorate and the chances of damage to the earthenware *matkis* in which it is kept, are considerable. Unless he solidifies it, in which case his profit falls, he must part with it quickly. The danger of breakages accounts for the preference for water transport. There is, however, a certain amount of export by rail from Badarganj station. Cane is exported only from Badarganj to Sitabganj in Dinajpur. The small factory at Rangpur draws its supplies from the neighbourhood of the town.

The paddy market is largely an internal one. Certain areas grow insufficient quantities to support themselves. The tobacco area in the north is deficient in paddy and draws its supplies partly from Badarganj and partly from Dinajpur. Similarly the central area running south from Kaunia to Gaibandha has to import paddy (or rice) from the one crop *khiyar* tracts in the extreme west. This internal trade is carried on by *beparis* who are themselves part-time cultivators and who sell to the rice merchants who are generally Sahas, Basaks or Marwaris, at the big centres such as Gaibandha, Rangpur, Lalmonirhat or Nilphamari. The chief marts in the *khiyar* tract are Bhendabari, Kamdia and Badarganj. They all export to other parts of the district. In addition to this large scale movement, *aman* paddy or husked rice is on sale at all of the innumerable small *hats* where it represents the surplus production of the neighbouring paddy cultivators.

53. The village hats.—The minor agricultural products are to be found on sale at all village *hats*, the number of which is so great that the touring officer counts himself unfortunate if his tent is more than three miles from one of them. They are generally bi-weekly and sit from about five in the evening until nine. At some of the more important ones there are permanent stalls but the real business does not commence until the itinerant pedlars with their bundles and the neighbouring cultivators with their baskets of produce have settled themselves down in their customary positions to display their wares. Kerosine oil, milk, sugar, salt, gur, rice, dried or fresh fish and all forms of vegetables are regularly offered and in

¹Railway returns from Kaunia show heavy bookings of tobacco of which the ultimate destination is Akyab.

the season, tobacco and jute. Amongst the less perishable articles are quantities of coloured cloths and cheap fancy goods such as highly scented and gaudy looking soaps, glass bangles, cheap mirrors, amulets and earthenware pots. Nowhere is the economic conquest by Japan more apparent than in these stalls. The *hat* however is more than a mere trading centre, it is the place where all the neighbouring villagers come to gossip and many a cultivator who brings in his handful of brinjals or basket of rice is not unduly perturbed if he makes no sale provided he has had an opportunity of recounting the iniquities of the local zamindar's naib or of discussing the progress of his litigation at the subdivisional courts. These *hats* sit even in the thana headquarters, though in such places the permanent shops monopolise much of the trade in non-perishable goods. Wherever they are situated they afford income to the zamindars who either take a toll from the traders or lease out the *hat* in *izara*. Big estates like Kasimbazar take particular care to forbid, in their *kabuliyats*, the opening of new *hats* by their tenants.

54. Melas.—Four important melas (fairs) are held in the district between the months of December and February each year. By far the largest and most important is the one at Darwani. The others take place at Panga, Badarganj and Birat. They are primarily cattle markets and are the chief medium for the sale of upcountry stock and for the camels destined for sacrifice at Id, but they also contain innumerable stalls which offer to the villagers goods usually only available in the large towns. There is generally a small circus and a regular *jatra* party with perhaps occasional *kirttanalis*. In spite of the anxiety they give to the local health authorities and their less desirable features such as the bands of gamblers and prostitutes that accompany them, they serve a useful purpose in affording the villagers an opportunity of buying their more expensive necessities for the year and at the same time introducing a little colour into their otherwise rather drab existence.

55. Trade and manufactures.—Apart from the marketing of agricultural produce which has already been noticed, there is very little in the way of trade or manufacture. There are potters and blacksmiths to be found in

most areas but their trade is purely local. A number of East Bengal Muslims carry on a trade in hides at Chilahati and Badarganj. The hides are purchased from *doms* and *bagdis*, cured with the help of local *muchis* and exported to Calcutta. There is a small colony of weavers at Mirganje (Jaldhaka) who manufacture the blue half saris worn by the Rajbansi womenfolk and known as *fotas*, and the weaving of coarse endi chadars still goes on in Sundarganj. There is also a small boat building industry at Gopaljhar. The ivory carving at Panga, noted in the gazetteer, has now completely disappeared and the cotton weaving industry at Nisbetganj, where formerly coarse cotton carpets were made, is now almost dead. Efforts have been made by itinerant Government weaving parties to establish jute weaving as a secondary industry; up to date however the production has been infinitesimal. At Phulchhari there is a big entrepôt trade in fish. It is brought there from the river, sorted, sold to exporters and sent down to Calcutta.

56. Non-standard weights.—One of the impediments to business is the lack of a standard system of weights. The seer varies according to the locality and also according to the commodity for which it is being used. For weighing paddy, seers of 60, 80, 90 and 96 tolas are used. The 60 tola seer which is in use in the extreme west of the district and generally in the areas far removed from the headquarters or subdivisional towns, is invariably called *kacha*. The other seers are variously known as *pakka*. In the smaller hats a special system of weights is used. It is—

60 tolas = 1 seer.

3 seers = 1 don (or katha).

20 dons = 1 bish.

16 bishes = 1 puthi.

It is confined to dealings in paddy or rice, the *don* being the name of the basket in which rice is carried to the hat. Actually the *don* may be anything from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 seers. The standard seer of 80 tolas is used when selling sugarcane as the mills insist on it, but for gur the various seers are used by the cultivators though the weight is standardised to the 80 tola seer by *beparis*. The standard seer is also used for jute. *Pan* and betel-nut are sold by numbers which are taken as equivalent to a nominal weight. These are well understood

in the district, but would puzzle a stranger.

57. District exports and imports.—

With the exception of about half a lakh of maunds of jute, the entire crop is exported to Calcutta either direct or *via* Mymensingh. Figures supplied by the steamer company and the railways show that the total exports in the quinquennium 1931-35 amounted to about 43 lakhs of maunds. The district outturn calculated on the area under jute and the standard outturn per acre comes to about 57 lakhs of maunds. No figures are available for country boat exports but enquiries by the settlement staff resulted in an estimate of 10 lakhs of maunds. This seems about correct and suggests that a great deal of the Rangpur jute reaches Calcutta from Mymensingh since, as far as could be ascertained, most of the country boat traffic was between the south-west of the district and Sarisabari. The railway returns for the same period show an import of 5½ lakhs maunds of husked rice and nearly 2 lakhs maunds of paddy. The rice was unloaded chiefly at Gaibandha and Domar, the centres of deficient paddy areas and to a lesser extent at Rangpur, Nilphamari, Phulchhari and Saidpur. The paddy was unloaded principally at Phulchhari and Domar. The rice was almost all imported from the rice mill areas of Dinajpur such as Hili, Chorkai or Dinajpur itself; the paddy came principally from Assam. Exports of rice and paddy were negligible, about a lakh of maunds in all. As far as can be ascertained there is no export of rice and paddy by steamer and not very much by country boat, though there is considerable export by cart into Jalpai-guri and Cooch Behar. The railway figures however support the conclusions of the Settlement staff that as a district Rangpur is rice importing, paying for its imports by the sale of jute, tobacco and gur. Cotton which is exported by river in large quantities through Rahumari Ghat is a product of the Garo Hills.

The principal imports, apart from rice, are salt, kerosine oil, piece-goods and iron goods. All the steamer ghats show heavy imports for these commodities though those of Rahumari are deceptive as they include goods bound for the Garo Hills¹. There are similar imports to all the stations, the amounts

varying according to the density of population in the neighbourhood.

Statement showing the average import of rice and paddy and export of jute per year from the principal stations and ports during the quinquennium 1931-35.

Stations.	Average import of rice in maunds per year.	Average import of paddy in maunds per year.	Export of jute in maunds per year.
Mahimaganj .. ..	..	..	154,961
Gaibandha	63,995	10,789	579,017
Bamanjang .. ..	..	..	106,904
Badarganj .. ..	..	..	164,400
Rangpur	46,540	..	290,080
Lalmuirhat	23,108	6,476	106,252
Saidpur	24,838	..	334,672
Darwan .. ..	..	..	151,726
Nilphamari	48,155	6,163	187,923
Domar	87,020	32,707	447,838
Chilabati .. ..	..	8,139	121,112
Phulchhari	28,443	41,675	307,609*
Chilmari .. ..	..	..	450,000*

*Includes part of the estimated export by country boat.

Chapter VI—Historical.

Antiquities.

58. **Legend.**—The northern half of the present district formed part of the old kingdom of Kamrup about which the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* wrote "The inhabitants are said to be extremely handsome and they are reported to be very skilful in magic. Many incredible stories are told of the natural productions of this place.....".¹ Much

¹This is Gladwin's paraphrase. The full translation by Jarrett runs "Kamrup commonly called also Kaomru and Kamtu is subject to him (the chief of Koch). The inhabitants are as a race good looking and addicted to the practice of magic. Strange stories are told regarding them. It is said that they build houses of which the pillars, walls and roofs are made of men. Some of these they compel by the power of sorcery, and criminals deserving of death are also thus made use of. Whoever voluntarily surrenders himself for this purpose, escapes retribution for a year. Various conveniences are reserved for him. In due time, men armed with swords cut them down, and from their movements or immobility of other aspects, they have cognisance of scarcity or plenty or duration of years or the longevity of the ruler or defeat of enemies. They also cut open a pregnant woman who has gone her full time of months and taking out the child, divine somewhat as to the future. There grows a wonderful tree whose branches when cut, exude a sweet liquid which quenches the drought of those athirst. They have also a mango tree that has no trunk; it trails like a climbing vine, over a tree and produces fruit. There is likewise a flower which after it has been gathered for two months, does not wither nor lose its colour or smell. Of these they make necklaces".

¹The steamer company supplied detailed figures to show the movement of these commodities but asked that the figures should not be published separately.

of the history of the Hindu period is in keeping with this description and has become, in course of time, so obscured by miraculous legend that it is difficult to connect it with authentic occurrences. The legends have been related in detail by Buchanan Hamilton and Glazier. It is sufficient to say here that from the 11th century onwards they depict a state of constant unrest and the rise and fall of innumerable petty rajahs during which time material advancement must have been well nigh impossible. Though evidence for a continuous account is lacking, there are certain remains of archæological interest and with their help and that of the tradition which envelops them, it is possible to obtain a few authentic glimpses of the past.

59. Dharmapal's city.—In mauza Gar Dharmapal, police-station Jaldhaka, is a running earthen embankment built in the form of a quadrilateral about three quarters of a mile long from north to south and of an average breadth of half a mile, narrowing slightly towards the north. It is 30 feet high, 10 feet broad at the top, 40 feet to 50 feet broad at the base and is surrounded by a moat. To the north and south are subsidiary earthworks outside the main embankment, and on the north and west are breaks which appear to have been main gateways. Buchanan Hamilton noticed a complete ring of outer works, these are only visible now in fragments and cannot be traced. Tradition ascribes its construction to king Dharmapal, a monarch of the dynasty which preceded the Vaidya kings of Bengal. It is said that for some years it formed his capital. It seems certain that it was an elaborate and important centre as many traces of brickwork have been found and also the foot of a pillar embossed with an elephant and lion. It is probable however that the king was the Dharmapal of the Assam dynasty which ruled Kamrup towards the close of the 11th century. These Palas had been pushing south-west for many years and northern Rangpur seems to have been the southern limit of their conquest. If this is so then probably Dharmapal's city was a southern outpost. This is supported by the fact that Dharmapal was overthrown by a local chieftain named Manik Chandra whose prowess is extolled in a famous ballad "The song of Manik Chandra." Traces of Manik Chandra's family are found in many places to the south of Dharmapal. There

is another fort known as *Mainamatir Kot* to the west and the tomb of Harishchandra, brother-in-law of Manik Chandra, nearby. At Udaipur Dhap in police-station Mithapukur, are the remains of a building attributed to Bhabachandra, another descendant of Manik Chandra, about whose name a host of legends have gathered. Connected with the same king are the ruins of the outhouses of a temple in mauza Bagdebi, police-station Pirganj. Traces of embankments similar to that at Dharmapal, but concerning which no traditions have survived, are found in many areas suggesting that, like the Tudor kings of England, the petty chieftains of Rangpur found it more economical to live perpetually on tour.

60. Bhim's jangal.—Another object of considerable archæological importance is the long earthen rampart locally known as *bhimer garh* or *bhimer jangal*. It stretches east from the river Jamuneswari as far as Sadyapushkarini, is broken there for about a mile, then continues up to mauza Bhangani and after a break of another two miles continues from mauza Kutubpur to the river Ghaghat. It is 30 feet to 40 feet high, about 80 feet broad at the base and is protected by a moat in the southern side. Rennell shows it connecting the Karatoa and the Ghaghat, but there are now no traces of it west of the Jamuneswari. Buchanan Hamilton says he found remnants of the same embankment south of Ulipur between the Tista and the Brahmaputra suggesting that at one time there was a connected line from the Karatoa in the west to the Brahmaputra in the east. This easterly section is no longer traceable. Connected with this embankment is a large earthen fort in mauza Sibpur, police-station Badarganj, locally known as Bhim's fort. There are many theories as to when and why this embankment was constructed, but all are agreed that it was for defensive purposes.¹ The name is not necessarily very significant as anything large and impressive is immediately attributed to Bhim, the mythical strong man and hero of Bengal. One theory ascribes it to

¹There is a similar embankment running from Bogra to Ghoraghat, along the edge of the barind. In his report on the Bogra Settlement the Settlement Officer writes "the date and purpose of its construction are alike unknown" but suggests that it was probably for protecting the country against floods. It is also known as Bhim's jangal and possibly may form part of the same system of fortifications as the Rangpur embankment. The whole of this area of Rangpur and Bogra was for many centuries the frontier of Kamrup.

Bhima, son of Rudoke, the Kaibartta king who enjoyed a brief spell of success against the Palas at the beginning of the 12th century.² It seems improbable however that Bhima would have had his strong line of defence facing south, as far north as this on the borders of Kamrup. The moat establishes conclusively that it was built for defence against attacks from the south. The most probable theory is that it was built by the Koch kings as a defence against the Muslims as it was during that period that it came to mark the frontier. It is significant that the final overthrow of the Koch kings was preceded by movements in Kundi and Bangalbhum, to outflank these defensive lines.

61. Nilambar's road.—The Khen kings who made their capital at Kamatapuri extended Kamrup as far south as Ghoraghat. The last of this line was Nilambar, a name well known in Rangpur to this day. He constructed the great road from Ghoraghat to Kamatapuri which forms part of the present Bogra-Rangpur-Cooch Behar highway; and built forts at Ghoraghat, Kantaduar, Satgara and Chatra. The road was used by successive invaders, by one of whom, Hussain Shah, he was finally overthrown.

62. Birat Raja's house.—The oldest remains in the district are known as Birat Raja's house and lie about six miles south of Kamdia. They consisted originally of four mounds which have now been partially excavated revealing brick built chambers and two drains of black basalt, embossed with a tiger's head and similar to those found at Mahastan in Bogra. They are certainly of great antiquity though the tradition which attributes them to Birat Raja of the Mahabharata is possibly due to a confusion of the *Matsya* des of southern Rajputana with that of Malda.

63. The coming of the Muslims.—In the early 13th century there is an authentic account of a brief Muslim invasion. Bhaktiyar Khiliji, the general of Mohammad of Ghor, led a raiding army through the district. The *Reazu's Salatin* records that "he was guided to a country, the city whereof is called Abardhan under the walls of which ran a very large river

called Bagmutty, three times as broad as the Ganges." Abardhan has since been identified as Bardhankuthi and the Bagmutty as the Karatoa. The raid had little permanent effect but is of great interest as showing the importance and size of the river Karatoa in those days, a fact which is vouched for by one or two of the old travellers and by the persistent local tradition, which exists to this day, that at one time a vast river flowed between Ghoraghat in Dinajpur and Tulsighat in Rangpur.¹

64. Shah Ismail Ghazi.—The next authentic historical figure is Shah Ismail Ghazi. He was a general of King Barbak Shah of Gaur Pandua (1459-74) and is associated with the growth of Muslim tradition round Ghoraghat which had become their main frontier town after the withdrawal from Rangamati. According to the *Risalut-us-Sahada*² he scored a striking victory against King Kameswar of Kamrup. He was finally executed on account of a false charge preferred against him by the Hindu Governor of Ghoraghat, and his body was cut into four portions and buried at Ghoraghat, Kantaduar (police-station Pirganj), Barabila (police-station Pirganj) and Mandaran (Hooghly). His name is venerated to this day throughout the south of the district where he is regarded as a saint and there are innumerable rent-free tenures and holdings established to perpetuate his memory. Four famous *dargas* are still extant. *Baradarga* in Ismailpur on the Bogra Road has little to commend it architecturally though it appears to be a genuine Muslim structure and not a converted Hindu temple. It is said to be constructed over his staff. The entire village in which it stands is revenue free and no vehicle whatsoever will pass the *darga* without stopping for a moment out of respect for the memory of the saint.

Tradition says that another *darga* lies submerged in Barabila (police-station Pirganj). Buchanan Hamilton was unable to find any trace of it though he noticed that a bamboo flagstaff was erected on the supposed site. Even that has disappeared now.³ The most

¹Yuan Chang, the Chinese traveller, made a special mention of the large river Ka-lo-tu (Karatoa).

²Published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume XLIII.

³The local people are still willing to point out the site and the amin who did the khanapuri of this village was so impressed with the local belief that he attempted to plot the *darga* in situ.

¹Bangala Bal by Rajendra Lal Acharya

²Now in Cooch Behar.

interesting of them all lies at Kantaduar about a mile south of Chatrahat (police-station Pirganj). It stands on a large mound and is in a dilapidated condition. It is surrounded by a brick parapet which is decorated with the rose and lotus design, a characteristic Hindu *motif*. Apparently there was originally a Hindu temple which was demolished and a mosque built in its stead. The mosque in its turn fell into a state of disrepair and left only the *darga*. Even that is roofless, though it has been described as "an excellent specimen of the early Muslim type of architecture of the 15th century A.D." An inscription on a stone slab has recently been found which, though incomplete, throws light in the origin of the building. The inscription which is in Arabic reads "The builder of this mosque—which was built in the reign of the just and benevolent Sultan the Sayyed of Sayyeds, the source of felicity, the most merciful amongst Moslem men and women, the conqueror of the rebels of Kamrup and Kamtah by the grace of the benevolent and powerful God, the refuge of Islam and Moslems, Ala-u-d Danyawaddin Abdul Muzaffar Hussain Shah as Sultan. May God perpetuate his kingdom. . . . by the Great Khan. . . . The fourth *darga* lies three miles west of this.

Hussain Shah, during whose reign Kantaduar was built, took Kamatapur, the capital of the powerful Khen kings of Kamrup in 1498, though he was subsequently driven back.

65. Final Muslim conquest.—In 1578 Nar Narayan, the last of the important Koch kings, paid tribute to the Mughals. There are traces of a big expedition against Kamrup in a large tank excavated at Sadyapushkarini and a fort constructed at Saptibari, police-station Lalmonirhat, on the route to Kamatapur, both by Man Singh, the famous general of Akbar. At the same time the western extremity of Bhim's jangal was turned by establishing the Kundi family in their present estate. The Koch kingdom was now disintegrating rapidly; it was split by disputes as to the succession and the area lying west of the Sankosh river came under Mughal suzerainty and invited their help against the rival faction in the east. The invasions began but, though nominally annexed, there was no real

control ever established over the areas east of the Sankosh and Mir Jumla was heavily defeated in 1662. He did however manage to retain Sarkar Bangalbhum (Baharband and Bhitambar) and portions of Uttarkal and Dakshinkal. The final advance took place under Aurangzeb's general Ebadat Khan in 1687. He thoroughly conquered the Chaklas of Fatepur, Kazirhat and Kakina and established a nominal suzerainty over the northerly Chaklas of Boda, Patgram and Purbabhat though he was compelled to leave the latter in farm with the Rajas of Cooch Behar. Traces of this last conquest are found in the ruins of Aledad Khan's court at Lohinapara in police-station Badarganj. Aledad Khan appears to have been one of the faujdars appointed by Ebadat Khan after his annexations. Rent-free grants were made in large numbers by him and his brother Kobaz between the years 1701 and 1734.

Fiscal history.

66. Parganas and sarkars.—The first attempt, of which there are reliable historical records, to divide Bengal into administrative and fiscal units was made by Raja Todar Mal, Akbar's famous minister, in 1582. For his purpose he adopted the ancient Hindu division of the pargana and grouped the parganas into nineteen sarkars. The results are tabulated in the "Ain-i-Akbari". Although it is possible to trace many of the divisions to the present day it is not safe to assume that in Akbar's time the parganas mentioned in the "Ain-i-Akbari" were under the effective control of the Mughals. It is generally considered that this early administration increased rather than decreased the prevailing disorder. Rangpur, being a frontier district exposed to the forays of the troublesome Koch Chieftains, bulked largest as an incompletely conquered military faujdari. Nothing can be more certain than that the collections from sarkar Ghoraghat, which nominally included much of southern Rangpur, were never actually realised. The area which, according to the "Ain-i-Akbari," was under control, can still be traced approximately. Ghoraghat was the military and administrative centre. From there the sarkar stretched eastwards as

far as, and including, pargana Patilidaha which comprises the present thanas from Saghata, north to Chilmari and also Dewangapj in Mymensingh. To the north it included parganas Kundi, Swaruppur and Rokanpur, a line running roughly north-east from Saidpur to within a short distance of the present Tista.¹ Baharband however was excluded and so the sarkar touched the Brahmaputra at one or two places only. The control of the frontier parganas must have been very slight and they were all settled as jaigirs, that is to say, that whatever was collected was not paid directly into the Imperial treasury, but was farmed. From a letter of the Collector of Rangpur to the Governor-General, dated the 19th December 1800, it is clear that Kismat Patilidaha (a part of the pargana) was granted as a jaagir to the Roy Royan in 1740, though it was actually managed for him by the zamindar of Rajshahi. If a jaagir settlement had to be adopted as late as this when the entire area of modern Rangpur had been conquered it is very doubtful if much control could have been exercised during the 16th century. Kundi in the north was certainly a jaagir. An ancestor of the present family was made Governor during the North Bengal expedition of Man Singh. His son succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Emperor of Delhi in 1606.² Swaruppur is shown in sarkar Bajuha but this appears to be a mistake. It lies in the area of Ghoraghat, and Bajuha was certainly much further east. Abul Fazal himself writes "Another river is the Brahmaputra. It flows from Khata to Koch and thence through the sarkar of Bajuha and fertilising the country, falls into the sea". The Brahmaputra at that time flowed through Mymensingh and in fact Bajuha included most of that district. A similar confusion has arisen in the case of Kundi which was shown as part of Ghoraghat but was later treated as part of Bajuha.

67. Extension of the parganas.—The 17th century saw a gradual extension of Muslim influence northwards. Sarkar Bangalbhum, comprising the parganas of Baharband and Bhitambar, was annexed at the outset.

¹At this period the Teesta flowed south through the present district of Dinajpur.

²The present proprietor says that the firman was destroyed during the 1897 earthquake.

These parganas were let out as jaigirs. Then pargana Kazirhat, Kakina and Fatehpur were annexed without much opposition and, like Baharband, and Bhitambar, were settled as jaigirs with the existing zamindars. Further north, in attempting to conquer Purba-bhag, Boda and Patgram the Mughals met with a sterner resistance and had to fight over a much more difficult terrain. Skirmishing continued for a long period across the irregular border which now divides Cooch Behar from Rangpur and though the parganas were nominally annexed they were never really conquered and remained as jaagir fiefs in possession of the old landlords on behalf of the Cooch Behar Raja.

68. Chaklas and great estates.—The administrative and fiscal divisions were further complicated by the settlement of Murshed Kuli Khan in 1722. The sarkars which, by the time of Shah Suja, had increased to 34, were grouped into 13 chaklas or administrative divisions. Most of Rangpur was comprised in chaklas Ghoraghat and Karaibari. According to Grant the chaklas were "compact, well and permanently ascertained in boundary, regularly assessed for the standard Crown rent and each under the separate administration of a faujdar, aumildar or intendant of finances". They were established, according to the same authority, "to break the influence of overgrown landlords and subject their extensive local management to the control of different Superintendents, conveniently situated". Though the names of the chaklas have not survived to the same extent as the sarkars it is to them rather than to the latter that we must turn for the origin of the modern district. Another feature which tended to obscure the old divisions was the phenomenal growth of the large estates which began during the latter half of the 17th century. The zamindars of these were a class of *nouveaux riches* and it was these men that Murshid Kuli Khan sought to break by tightening up the administration. Two of them had extended far into Rangpur. The zamindary of Rajshahi included at times Baharband and Bhitambar, Patilidaha and part of sarkar Ghoraghat. These were jaagir lands which were managed on behalf of the jaigirdar by the zamindar. The zamindary of Dinajpur included most of sarkar Ghoraghat stretching as far east as Tulsighat. The northern part

of the district however still remained outside their sphere of influence.

69. The boundaries defined.—During the administration of the East India Company the boundaries were gradually defined. On the north the treaty with Cooch Behar in 1772 settled that indeterminate frontier. On the east, Baharband was brought into the district in 1772 and shortly after that, Bhitambar. The zamindari of Dinajpur had meanwhile been split into two tarafs; the 7 anna taraf which went to Dinajpur and the 9 anna taraf which, as Idrakpur, came into Rangpur district. For two years (1786-87) a Collectorate was established at Ghoraghat. In 1787 Swaruppur was also brought under Rangpur. The western boundary however remained undefined and in 1798 we find Mr. Parr, Collector of Dinajpur, writing to the Governor in Council of Fort William "but in the south side its (Dinajpur) limits are still badly ascertained notwithstanding the annexation of some trifling mahals to the district of Rangpur made in the above year (1793). In the province of Ghoraghat as marked down in the map of those districts by Major Rennell, the mahals of Zillahs Rangpur and Dinajpur are everywhere intermixed without regard to the principle laid down in the 21st section of Regulation 2nd of 1793". After dealing further with the administrative inconveniences occasioned by this the letter goes on to propose that the river Karatoa be made the district boundary. This proposal was accepted and put into force the same year.

Subsequent alterations have been extensive but can easily be followed from the thana notifications.

70. Pre-dewani assessment.—The assessment made in the district before the Company obtained the dewani is difficult to ascertain. Writing to the Board of Revenue in 1787, Mr. Goodlad stated, "It is more than probable that the lands of Rangpur have never been measured since the country first came into possession of the kings of Hindustan; and the records of the district afford not the smallest information as to the quantity of land fit for cultivation". Todar Mal's assessment was certainly never realised; even the basis on which it was calculated is not

known.¹ Nor are there any records of Shah Suja's assessment in 1658. Grant gives an *asal jama* for Fakirkandy at Murshid Kuli Khan's settlement of 1722. This refers to an area including only a small fraction of the present district and is of little interest. From a report of the Kanungo in 1787 it is clear that no early records existed locally. He writes, "there is no huckkat jumma of Rangpur amongst the records of my office earlier than the Bengal year 1169 (1762), but I shall now state to you such particulars as I have been able to learn, concerning the settlement of the mahals of this district, previous to the time when the Company obtained the Dewany". The details supplied were as follows. In 1740 Kasim Ali Khan took a farm of the district for Rs. 3,36,000 and held it until 1757. In 1758 a complaint was made to the Subadar that the district was grossly under-assessed. From then until 1761 there was an annual increase until in that year Dewan Subahi Chand took the farm for Rs. 11,48,986 but only succeeded in collecting Rs. 7,91,000. The latter part of the statement is probably correct as it approximately agrees with Grant's later figures: there is nothing however to corroborate the earlier statement and it seems doubtful if the jama could ever have been so low. The explanation is probably that the area referred to was Fakirkandi only. The following table shows the *jama* and the collections up to 1765 as delivered by the Kanungo to Mr. McDowall, the Collector, in the form of a *jama-wasil-baki*:—

Year.			
	Jama.	Collected.	Balance.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1762	11,29,324	6,68,692	4,60,632
1763	6,17,262	5,93,531	23,731
1764	5,09,182	4,87,882	21,300
1765	7,83,313	6,96,752	86,561

The explanation of the decrease in 1763, given by the Kanungo, is that large remissions were given to the raiyats who had rebelled throughout Kazirhat the previous year on account of the severity of the assessment. Grant in the other hand attributes it to concealment of previous surplus collections. Grant's arguments are based on documents which were never

¹Sir John Shore in a letter to Boughton Rous in 1787 shows that Grant's assumption that Akbar took one-fourth of the produce is based on a misreading of the manuscript of the "Ain-i-Akbari". He himself says it may be anything between one-half and one-eighth.

published. Such evidence as can be gathered supports the explanation of the Kapungo. The facts of the rebellion are known and with a rebellious tenantry a man such as Kasim Ali Khan who knew the district would hardly have engaged for a larger sum. Moreover, Sir John Shore was able to show on the results of a very detailed enquiry that in the neighbouring district of Dinajpur collections of the year 1762 were nearly 7 lakhs short of the contractual *jama*, thus showing that there was a general over-assessment in that year. It is quite likely that there was some chicanery in the accounts if the results of the later examination of pargana Swaruppur by Mr. Harington are to be relied on, but there is no evidence that it went to the lengths alleged by Grant. It is to be remembered that the examination of Swaruppur showed, amongst other things, that a large proportion of the concealed assess was in the hands of the raiyats and the zamindars themselves were unaware of this.

71. The first experimental period.— Until 1772 the revenue collections appear to have been left to aumils and tahsildars and probably the farming system, which was universal under the Muslims as far as Rangpur was concerned, was continued. The *jama-wasil-baki* shows the following figures :—

Year.		Jama.	Collected.	Balance.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1766	..	7,75,925	7,47,694	28,231
1767	..	7,80,105	6,47,650	1,32,455
1768	..	9,11,789	8,74,106	37,683
1769	..	8,57,372	8,32,418	22,954
1770	..	9,03,738	8,61,108	42,630
1771	..	11,81,743	9,14,615	1,87,128
1772	..	8,92,425	8,68,941	23,484

Very little attempt at direct control appears to have been made until 1770. In that year Mr. Gross, the newly appointed Supervisor, took up his duties. He was sent to inquire into the manifold abuses which had come to light during the period that the Naib Dewan administered the revenues. His first action was to call for the mufassal papers of 1769 and on the basis of these

he fixed the *jama* of 1771.¹ His letters are eloquent of the difficulties which lay in his path. He had the greatest difficulty in obtaining the patwari papers which in his opinion "were the only true accounts extant in the country". An examination of these papers convinced him that the aumils had "for a series of years cheated the Government and preyed on the poor raiyats". It appears that some attempt was made to ascertain the resources locally and English gomastahs were deputed to several mufassal areas. An examination of the hastabad account for that year reveals that, in spite of the enquiries, the high *jama* was achieved by the most slapdash methods. There is an amount of Rs. 81,960 denominated *andazee beshee* or conjectural increase. Other abwabs levied without enquiry were Rs. 66,765 as *Cumee pherani* to make up the deficiencies occasioned by the desertion of raiyats, Rs. 41,728 as *Maktowl Palataka*, an abwab of the same description and Rs. 2,08,353 as *Durree Villa*. The last abwab is naively described as "a tax which increases in proportion to the diminution of the mufassal resources and when the sudder jumma is increased". Mr. Gross was succeeded by Mr. Purling who remained until 1773, although the settlement of 1772 was not made by him.

72. The quinquennial settlement.— In December 1772 the newly constituted Committee of circuit arrived in Rangpur. Before concluding the settlement they considered the accounts submitted by the Collector and expressed complete approval of the following opinion given by him: "There certainly cannot be a more judicious plan for rendering this district more flourishing and for the expectation of increases in the revenue than that which you gentlemen are now about to adopt of letting the farms have quiet possession of their lands for a term of years. It is most natural to suppose that the farmers will take every measure to promote their own success". The estates were accordingly auctioned and let out to the highest bidder with

¹When the Kanungo was asked to account for the large uncollected balance of 1771 he gave the following reply to the Collector "When Mr. John Gross had charge of the collections of Rangpur he, without considering the ability of the country, formed the Jumma of the district and did not enquire into the objectionable articles contained in the aumeeny papers of the hustabod of the Bengal year 1178, in consequence of which the abovementioned sum remained as a balance on account of those articles."

the inevitable result that a number of speculators, with little knowledge of the mufassal resources entered into impossible engagements. The following table is sufficient indication of this :—

Year.	Settle- ment made by Commit- tee of circuit.	Jama subse- quently reduced.	Amount actually collected.
	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
1772-73 ..	8,92,425	No reduc- tion.	8,68,941
1773-74 ..	9,78,656	9,76,138	7,86,129
1774-75 ..	10,42,186	7,95,298	7,36,657
1775-76 ..	11,05,381	8,01,902	7,99,013
1776-77 ..	11,08,381	8,01,903	8,00,531

NOTE.—The collections of various areas such as Baharband and Baikuntpur were annexed to Rangpur during this period. The figures for these are not included in the actual settlement made.

That the Committee was utterly ignorant of the district resources is further exemplified by their letter forwarding the figures to Calcutta in which they state, "It gives us the greatest concern to acquaint you that our endeavours to obtain a more favourable settlement have not been attended with the success we could have wished We flatter ourselves however from the diligence and attention which will be paid by the Collector that the revenue will be completely realised". A dewan and a naib dewan were appointed to supervise the collection. Records are wanting of these years as the Collector was withdrawn in 1773 and not reappointed until 1777. It is clear however that the settlement broke down in Rangpur as it did elsewhere in Bengal and the Company's experiment of trying to ascertain the resources by farming settlements had to be written off as a failure.

73. The administration of the Collectors.—The appointment of Mr. Purling in 1777 was a break with the practice in other districts where Collectors were not reappointed until 1781. His appointment was necessitated by the political disturbances in the district. At the same time he was given the power of making settlements, and corresponding directly with Calcutta, a privilege, which according

to Mr. Ascoli, was denied even in 1781 to the other Collectors.¹ The zamindars were now admitted to their lands and much more moderate settlements were made. The *jama-wasil-baki* up to the decennial settlement was as follows :—

Year.	Jama.	Realised.	Balance.
	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
1777-78 ..	7,92,529	7,90,165	2,364
1778-79 ..	7,91,923	7,78,493	13,420
1779-80 ..	7,91,923	7,73,221	18,702
1780-81 ..	7,91,698	7,08,686	83,012
1781-82 ..	9,47,188	8,32,605	1,14,583
1782-83 ..	7,59,722	5,79,096	1,80,765
1783-84 ..	6,30,079	6,30,079	..
1784-85 ..	6,72,549	6,72,549	..
1185-86 ..	7,70,502	7,53,294	17,209
1786-87 ..	39,244	7,39,244	..
1787-88 ..	8,70,656	6,86,511	1,84,145*
1788-89 ..	9,04,583	Figures missing but large remissions given.	
1789-90 ..	7,65,069	7,65,069	

*Remitted on account of distress.

The features of this period were the insurrection of the raiyats in 1783 brought about by the excesses of the notorious Debi Singh, the disturbed state of the district generally and the gradual development of the idea of a permanent settlement. The early zamindari settlements were not a success. Mr. Goodlad attributed it to the slackness and inexperience of the zamindars themselves. He wrote in 1781, "Rangpore was given in charge to the zamindar, a system however human and salutary it may prove in other places, is to Rangpore, the most destructive, both to district and zamindars, that could possibly be devised. I will enumerate the various objections to a zamindari settlement in Rangpore. The first that occurs is the entire ignorance of the zamindars, either as to their own interest, or the nature of their business; this arises from their never having had charge till the Bengal year 1184. This has given them an indifference to their zamindari, which lays them open to the hands of their gomastahs and servants who, as long as they

¹Early Revenue History of Bengal.

supply them with money for their expenses, are left without control. The next circumstance is, their total want of property or credit. . . . This seems to have been the general opinion of the Collectors at that time.¹ The protest appears to have had some effect and the farming system was resumed in 1781. The same year Debi Singh was made dewan and quickly became the *de facto* farmer. His exactions led to a serious revolt of the raiyats in the north of the district which had to be suppressed by a military force.² During the same period the district suffered severely from the depredations of dacoits and fakir raiders. These troubles are reflected in the low collections. The farming system was now discredited and the zamindars were again admitted to their estates but Collector after Collector complained of the difficulty of making the assessment and there seems to be no doubt that the

¹As late as 1788 Mr. McDowall wrote "I have frequently had occasion to take notice of the difficulties which, from the total incapacity of the zamindars, constantly occur in the management of the business of the district. The zamindars are in general, either from sex, age or imbecility, so totally incapable of attending to their own affairs, that they severally become the prey of every designing man who finds it his interest to court their favor". It was on these grounds that he recommended a farming settlement, a proposal which was not accepted by the Board of Revenue.

²The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Goodlad to the Committee of Revenue show that it was occasioned by real grievances. Mr. Goodlad made the settlement after the revolt. The letter is too long to quote in full. "The first step I took after receipt of your order was to obtain from the zamindars a statement of the ability of each mahal. The papers they gave me served as a groundwork for my settlement. When I first obtained these papers I was very diffident of them and I sent sumeens into each pargana in order to compare them with such mufassal accounts as they should be able to procure. . . . It had all along been a matter of surprise to me that during the time of the disturbances when I gave orders that the raiyats should pay no more for the lands they cultivated than the rate of 1187 (B.S.), that order had not instantly stopped the insurrection, but when I saw these papers of the zamindars and procured the deductions the raiyats had taken out and compared them with what had been assessed in lieu of them. I was no longer astonished. Let me take the liberty to recommend these papers to your attention, they will give you as clear an idea of the manner in which business is carried on in this district as anything I can write on the subject and you may then be able to determine with what degree of right the raiyats have to complain of injustice". The petition of the raiyats themselves shows the state to which they were reduced. It runs "We raiyats are ruined, you are chief of the country, you have not done us justice, in our houses we have nothing left, our grain, cattle and other effects we have sold. . . . how long are we to put up with their severity of collection. We have therefore assembled, quitted our houses and come forth for justice. . . . Their demands can be summarised as (1) abolition of the durrivilla tax, (2) Narainy rupees (which had suddenly lost currency) to be taken in payment, (3) the abolition of curtunny and Hoodiwan taxes, (4) deduction of Ferany from the kistbandi. They make no allegation of physical torture, though the commission subsequently appointed to inquire into the conduct of Debi Singh (The Davy Singh who excited Burke so strongly) found that such tortures had been practised.

jama was fixed on the basis of pargana accounts which had long ceased to have any connection with the facts.

Meanwhile the idea of solving the difficulties of assessment by making the settlement permanent was in process of formation. It was first put into practical effect in Baharband and Gaibari where Warren Hastings in 1779 granted a mokatari sanad to his bania Kantu Babu, in the name of Lokenath Nandi. The terms of this sanad were made the basis of the decennial settlement concluded with the estate ten years later. Another mokatari sanad had been granted to the Dinajpur Raja for life. Unlike the Baharband sanad which was emphatically repudiated by the Directors of the Company, this was approved "as in experiment the issue of which will in some measure enable us to judge of the propriety of adopting a general system on similar principles".

74. The Permanent Settlement.—

The rules for the formation of the decennial settlement were transmitted to Mr. Purling by the Board of Revenue in a series of circular letters issued during the early months of 1790. They instructed the Collector to aim at the standard of assessment reached in 1187 B. S. and 1193 B. S. and for this purpose to distribute any increase necessary over the first three years. The increase however was negligible as the district was still suffering from the effects of the famine and floods of 1787 on account of which large remissions of revenue had been made. The net *jama* fixed was Rs. 7,86,248, after adding the *Kanungos russom* and the zamindars' *birtee* and deducting the *sair* collections. This sum excluded Boda but included Baikuntpur. Idrakpur was the most highly assessed estate bearing a *jama* of Rs. 1,58,700. The independent talukdars were not very numerous, 28 in all. Their separation and the further subdivisions of some of the large estates increased the estate roll from 29 in 1789-90 to 89 in 1790-91. There were two farmers and six managers for disqualified proprietors. By 1792-93, the year in which the settlement was declared permanent, the total *jama* had increased to Rs. 8,19,621 and the number of estates to 104. By 1800 there were altogether 183 estates and many of them were in charge of managers. In fact the most striking feature of the period is the rapid disintegration of the old units such as

Kazirhat and Idrakpur. In 1815 Mr. Sisson, the Magistrate, criticised Mr. Purling's settlement severely. He wrote, "Thus whilst the settlement of Dinajpore, the state of which district must have been precisely similar to that of Rangpore, was by the zeal, diligence and abilities of Mr. Hatch, founded on the result of the minutest investigations into the state of the internal resources of every pergunnah, that of Rangpore was established on the uncertain criterion of preceding settlements which had their basis of bare conjecture", a criticism which, though rather severe, is in essence, justified.

The measurement of Swaruppur.

75. The deputation of Mr. Harington.—Whatever happened in the rest of the district it is clear that a genuine attempt was made to estimate the revenue of pargana Swaruppur and the small fragments of Sujanagar interspersed with it. This area, now comprising the major portion of police-station Badarganj originally formed part of sarkar Ghoraghat and was incorporated in the extensive zamindari of Rajshahi. In 1787 it was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased by Durpnarain Sarma for Rs. 91,501 at an annual *jama* of Rs. 60,480. The following year it was transferred from Rajshahi to Rangpur. Meanwhile, the new proprietor objected to the revenue which appears to have been fixed on the basis of the recorded *jama* of 1771 on an opinion expressed by Mr. Speke, Collector of Rajshahi, "that from 60 to 65 thousand would be a fair hastabood".

It was agreed that the matter should be examined more closely and an amin was deputed for the work. As a result the Collector proposed a revenue of Rs. 43,521. This was an unpleasant shock to the Board of Revenue which called for the papers on which the assessment was based and finding them unsatisfactory and incomplete ordered a measurement and jamabandi to be made, meanwhile fixing an interim revenue of Rs. 45,000.² This fresh investigation returned the gross assets as Rs. 45,439

and the total land as 110,880 bighas. In forwarding it the Collector gave his opinion that the survey had been reasonably accurate. Certain discrepancies in the rates of rent reported aroused suspicion in Calcutta and it was decided to depute a responsible servant of the Company to investigate. Mr. J. H. Harington was selected for the task. He made a thorough examination of the records and in addition a detailed survey of three of the villages of the pargana. His report throws invaluable light on the state of the district on the eve of the decennial settlement and in particular on the frauds which were being constantly practised to maintain the revenue at a low level¹.

76. Standards of measurement.—

One of his most difficult tasks was to arrive at an agreed standard measurement. Theoretically the cubit was fixed in size by a universally known Sanskrit table which ran—

3 Barleycorns = 1 angul or digit.

4 Angul = 1 moosht or palin.

6 Moosht = 1 cubit.

Unfortunately not one of these measurements was standardised and the Kanungos of Rajshahi, Rangpur and Idarakpur when consulted gave mutually contradictory replies.² "It is obvious," he wrote in his report, "that no standard can be established whilst the cubit, the principal measure, instead of being of a fixed and uniform length is left to vary in every pergunnah or portion of pergunnah, at the plea of the proprietor".

The process of reducing the length of the standard measure had already begun. Eventually a *dirra* or yard was found in the pargana cutchery bearing the seal of Nawab Kasim Ali Khan. This was fixed by him as the standard when a number of tenants petitioned against a

¹The report is contained in two manuscript volumes in the Rangpur Record Room which are now, in places, difficult to decipher. One interesting side light on contemporary ideas of the duties of the Board is given by Mr. Harington's query as to whether he was to fix fair rents for the raiyats. Eventually he was ordered only to report whether they were equitable or not, but it is clear that the ideas embodied in tenancy legislation nearly a century later were being considered at the time of the decennial settlement.

²Mr. Harington's experience bore out the conclusions arrived at in Mr. Patterson's enquiry of 1787, that the Kanungos as a body were either ignorant or unfit and had outlived their usefulness. They were abolished in 1793, though re-established for a few years in the following century.

¹Hastabood : measurement or estimate of assets.

²The Board was careful to specify that this was "rather as a matter of equity than in consideration of a strict right" as the general policy was to avoid detailed surveys.

yard which was being used by Rani Bhawani. It was adopted by Mr. Harington and has remained the *pargana gaz* ever since. It was by no means in general use even before the decennial settlement and the same can probably be said of most of the standards which are filed in the Collectorate nowadays. Using this *gaz* the *bigha* works out at 2,839 square yards, or over half an acre.

77. Comparative measurements.—

The completion of the survey of the three villages showed conclusively that the amin's measurement of the previous year was either fraudulent or criminally negligent. One or two of the main heads of comparison show what was happening—

	Land of 3 villages in bighas.			
	Total.	Unfit for cultivation.	Productive land.	Land occupied by raiyats.
Measurement 1788	4,975	1,459	2,856	1,715
Measurement 1789	5,836	636	4,893	3,558
Excess 1788 ..	..	823	..	..
Excess 1789 ..	861	..	2,037	1,843

Everything had been returned favourably to the zamindar in 1788. The productive land had been vastly under-estimated as had the area occupied by raiyats. On the basis of these measurements Mr. Harington was able to show that the total area of the *pargana* as shown by the amin was 20,000 *bighas* and odd less than it should have been and that about 35,000 *bighas* of land in the occupation of cultivation had been excluded from the return. Both the amin and the naib dewan were proved to have been on the pay of Durpnarain and very probably took the figures supplied by his Muharrirs without making further enquiries.

78. **Examination of the rent roll.** A careful analysis of the rent rolls and the examination of a number of cultivators convinced him that the mass of returns by which the assets were annually checked by the Collector and his staff were, even when not fabricated, completely divorced from reality.¹ The

constituent parts of the rent were, he considered (1) *Asal* (original rent), (2) *Abwabs* (established payments), (3) *Mathut* (occasional imposts). Over and above this *karcha* (contributions for expenses) were exacted and in some villages an item known as *andazi besi* (estimated increase) and in others additional costs to cover the losses occasioned by deserting tenants, were superadded. The *asal* represented the original rent of the first survey² and was noted in accounts. No further survey was made and *abwabs* on the zamindar were realised by *abwabs*, not necessarily identical, levied on the tenant. These were calculated on the amount of the *asal*. Unfortunately the *asal* which remained the standard of assessment altered considerably and in some of the villages he examined he found ten to twenty different rates which bore no relation to the classes of land or to the crops grown. The reduction on the *asal* was particularly marked after the grant of the *dewani* to the Company. The accounts were further complicated by the system of assessment of rent which was now made, in many cases, on villages and the amount distributed amongst the tenants by the amins the agreements being signed by a few of the *huzuri jotedars*. The elaborate rates shown in the *jamabandies* of the various villages were thus meaningless; the actual rate of rent being paid was in fact far less than that shown though the collections made were greater than those returned, because so much land was left out of account. The results were disastrous from all points of view. The actual assessment of rent had no direct relation to the value of the produce of the land, as the arbitrary imposition of *abwabs* and other exactions and the alteration of the *asal* had destroyed any scientific basis that the rent ever possessed. At the same time the concealed surplus of land was robbing the Company of revenue to which it was entitled. The revenue fixed in 1771 and again in 1778 by chance approximated to the *jama* justified by the assets. At the same time such a sum could not be justified on any reading of the accounts accepted as correct before Mr. Harington's survey. The report gives Rs. 66,857 as an estimate of the assets

¹In Swaruppur many of the documents were undoubtedly fabricated.

²Mr. Harington assumes a survey. There is no evidence as to how far this survey was accurate, or when it took place but presumably some estimate of the produce must have been made since the whole theory of land revenue is based on the State's right to a share of the produce.

on actual collections after deducting mufassal collection costs and Rs. 82,600 as the assets if the rents were properly assessed on a valuation of the produce¹.

The examination of the resources of Swaruppur is significant because the decennial settlement of the remainder of Rangpur was made on the basis of the same defective information which had previously guided the settlement of Swaruppur. Only, in the case of the rest of the district, there was no attempt to maintain the standard of 1771.

79. Bauzee zamin.—A problem arising from the assessment of revenue, and one which caused the early Collectors a good deal of anxiety was the existence of large areas of *bauzee zamin* or lands exempted from the payment of rent. Mr. Bogle, who was Collector in 1780, first drew the attention of the authorities to the serious loss of revenue occasioned by this. He wrote "The mode long followed in the management of this province will serve partly to account for the extraordinary amount of free lands. For forty years the revenues were collected by the officers of Government, or through the medium of farmers. The authority of the zamindars was in a manner only ostensible, their names were set forth in all public accounts and papers relating to the revenue of their respective districts; they and their officers possessed houses and held lands, on the produce of which they subsisted, but they were not interested in the collections. They derived no benefit from an increase of the rents of their pargana, and they suffered no loss by a diminution. In this situation, however, they were permitted to exercise the privilege of giving pattas and sanads for free lands under all the various denominations and practices common throughout Bengal. . . . About three years ago, the zamindars of this province were first entrusted with the management and became answerable for the revenues of parganas. They have since endeavoured, indeed, to recover some part of the *bauzee zamin*, but the attempts have met with a powerful

opposition in the superstition of the people and the common interest of the officers of Government. In the meantime the zamindars and their officers invested with the complete and untrained management in their districts, anxious to secure some lasting benefit from their novel authority, have made considerable additions to their household lands and having taken a great portion of the villages into their own hands, have, in many instances, reduced the *jama* by grants and private alienations, or have let the lands at a low rent to their dependents and favourites". He appended certain proposals to his letter by which all such rent-free lands should be examined and those alienated after 1772 should be declared invalid. A number of these proposals were subsequently adopted in regulations XIX and XXXVII of 1793. No action was taken for some time until in 1787 the Collector was instructed to investigate the matter. He in his turn asked the Kanungo to deliver an account which, when it was compiled, showed a total of 56,000 acres, most of which was *brahmottar*. This however did not show the concealed alienations as allowance had been made for the areas returned by the Kanungo, in the *hastobad* of Mr. Gross in 1771. The Collector then hit on the novel idea of opening an office to register all alienated lands meanwhile attaching them to "induce the proprietors to attend and deliver in copies of *sanads*". Every obstruction was put in his way by the zamindars and their agents and finally the attachment was withdrawn and the zamindars were called upon to prepare the register themselves. Whilst this was being done the Board of Revenue in a letter, dated September 15, 1788, transmitted the first draft of its orders for determining which lands had been validly alienated and which not. The register when finally prepared showed some 128,140 acres as *bauzee zamin* but no attempt was made to adjudicate on the entries therein on the basis of the Board's orders and shortly afterwards the register appears to have perished in one of the many fires at the cutcherry. Under the regulations eventually issued (XIX and XXXVII of 1793) most of the alienated lands were found to be small areas resumable by the zamindars for their own benefit, but not by Government. The zamindars as a whole waived their right to resume. Of the lands resumable by Government 125

¹At the decennial settlement the pargana was farmed with Mirza Md. Tuckey at Rs. 58,680. No assessment of rent was attempted but the figure was fixed by the Revenue Board in a letter, dated 24th May 1790. Whilst accepting the truth of Mr. Harington's figures they preferred to adopt the *jama* stated in the sale deed, less the allowance for resumed *saib*.

only were resumed, bringing in an additional revenue of a little over Rs. 6,000 as compared with Mr. Bogle's estimate of two lakhs.

80. Developments after the Permanent Settlement.—Apart from the developments in parganas Baharband and Patiladaha, which have been discussed elsewhere, the revenue history of Rangpur was steadily moulded, as in the case of other Bengal districts, by the numerous standard regulations issued from Calcutta. As elsewhere in the Province, the combined effects of a contumacious tenantry and a rigid application of the sale laws, resulted in the break up of many of the older zamindaries and it was not until some twenty years after the settlement was declared permanent that the regulations began to work with any degree of smoothness. By that time the landlords realised that an organised revenue administration had come to stay and their proceedings henceforth (with the exceptions mentioned above) belong rather to the general revenue history of the Province than to the account of any particular district.

81. Notes on pargana Baharband.—The early history of the pargana is contained in a statement delivered to the Collector by the pargana Kanungo in 1787. The statement runs, "The pargannah of Baharband, Sircar Bengal Boom was ever held as a Jaghire. Chand Roy was the first zamindar ever appointed to it, and after him Rogunant Roy. Upon Rogunant Roy's death his wife named Ranney Sattu Battu succeeded him, and during her life time the zamindary was taken from her and given to Rajah Ram Caunt, in whose life also it was given as a Jaghire to the Nabob Syed Ahmed Cawn Solut Jany, and included in the collections of Purneah. The sherista of the zamindary remained in the name of the Rajah. After the Rajah's death the zamindary came to Ranney Bowannee who procured a sunnud for it in the name of Rajah Rognant who had married her daughter. Upon his death the zemindary came under Moorshedabad as the Jaghire of the Nabob Mudjum Ull Dowlah Syed Muajabut Ally Cawn Bahadur. At first, the name of Ranney Bowannee remained to the zemindary, afterwards Rajah Gourry Persaud for a short time was appointed zamindar, but it again

reverted to Ranney Bowannee. When the Company came into possession of the Dewannee from the beginning of the year 1176 B. S. to the end of the year 1178 it was given in farm to Guinessam Sircar and the revenue was paid at Moorsheadabad into the Khalsa. In the year 1179 the mahal was included in the Collectorship of Rungpure and was given in farm for five years to Bissen Churn Nandy and remained with him to the end of the year 1180 and in 1181 the Company granted a Sunnud first to Lookenaut Nundy, in whose hands it now remains". This account is sufficient refutation of the charge repeatedly made against Warren Hastings, that he had ruthlessly dispossessed the zamindars of Rajshahi in order to grant an estate to his bania, Kantu Babu. Baharband was in fact a frontier Jaigir which was managed on behalf of the Jaigirdar by the zamindars of Rajshahi, Rani Satyabati and Rani Bhawani. Though they treated it as part of their zamindary, as is shown by the numerous rent-fee grants in their names, they were never zamindars. The early farming settlements made by the Company were in many cases sub-contracted and were productive of a good deal of oppression and discontent amongst the raiyats. The Collector in 1770 was compelled to protest vigorously to the authorities in Calcutta. No action however was taken and in 1772 the estate was let in farm for five years to Bissen Charan Nandy, though the real farmer, as it later transpired, was Kantu Babu. In 1777 and 1778 after the general collapse of the farming settlements the estate was offered at the medium of three years' revenue. This offer, however, was not accepted and for two years the revenue was collected by Government sezwals and Lokenath Nandy was treated as the zamindar. In 1779 a mokarari lease was granted again in the name of Lokenath Nandy though again Kantu Babu was the real grantee, a fact readily admitted by Warren Hastings when taxed with it by the Council. The lease is of great interest as being the first practical move towards a permanent settlement of the district. It runs as follows:—

Mutsuddis (Comptrollers) of affairs, the present and future amins and quanungos of parganas of Bahirband, etc., the zamindary of one of the notable persons Lokenath Nandy appertaining

to the Sarkar of Bengal, Bhum, etc., Chakla Garibari, environs of Bengal the paradise of the countries should know that under the orders of the Governor-General and the Member of the Council, the aforesaid parganas, in accordance with the collections of 1184 and 1185 B. S. made under the khas tahsil of the authorities at Rangpur, are granted in all respects of mukararri and instumurarri from the commencement of the year 1186 at an annual jama of Rs. 82,639 in sicca coins as mentioned below, so that he should pay the annual revenue regularly. They should treat the said Parganah as mukararri and instumurarri and realise the said stipulated sum year by year from the aforesaid notable persons and should not take abwab and make any excess demand and they should not call for fresh sanad every year. They should treat this as urgent.

3 Mahals.

The pergana Bahirband Sarkar Bengal Bhum entire—1 mahal.

Kismat Parganah Gaibari Sircar Dhakri—1 mahal.

Total jama—Rs. 82,639.

As received in the year 1184 B. S.—Rs. 80,525.

Addition under the receipt in the year 1185 B. S.—Rs. 2,114.

The total Rs. 82,639 in Sicca coins.

Dated the 3rd September 1779, corresponding to the 20th Bhadra, 1186 B. S. and the 21st Sraavan, the 21st year of reign.

The assessment is extremely light though it has this much justification that the Collector gave his opinion that the estate could not bear a jama of more than Rs. 80,000. The grant however was undoubtedly a reward for services rendered and the transition from farmer to zemindar was made without the payment of any purchase money. The grant has a chequered history. As early as 1776 the Directors in England wrote "Having considered the different circumstances of letting your land on leases for lives, or in perpetuity, we do not, for many weighty reasons, think it at present advisable to adopt either of

these modes". This order was reaffirmed in a despatch of 1778. In spite of this the mokaarari lease was granted the following year and drew from the Directors a peremptory order that it was to be cancelled at once. No action however was taken and in 1790 we find the Board of Revenue enquiring of Lord Cornwallis "whether the instimraree sunnud, granted by the Governor-General in Council, to the zamindars of Baharband and disapproved, with others, by the Hon'ble Court of Directors in their letter of 15th January 1783, shall be considered in force subject to future orders". The matter was again referred to the Directors the sanad meanwhile being taken as the basis of the decennial settlement. The reply has been lost.¹ It is clear however from the decennial settlement registers that Baharband eventually accepted the decennial settlement and voided the mokaarari sanad by accepting a variation in the revenue on account of Kanungoes rassoom and resumed *sair* duties. The other interesting feature of the pre-permanent settlement history of Baharband is the famous measurement case which throws some light on the status of the zamindars. In 1784 the raiyats of the estate petitioned the Committee of Revenue against the action of the zamindar in measuring their lands preparatory to preparing a fresh *hustobud*. They claimed that their lands had never been measured since the original *asal jama* had been fixed and that by custom no zamindar could reassess the *asal*. The zamindar replied by pointing out that the raiyats had extended their cultivation considerably and there was no accurate record of this increase. After taking the opinion of the Kanungos (which, as usual, varied widely) and examining the head raiyats the following judgment was delivered. "The Committee, adverting to the nature of a zamindar's office and the authority by which he is vested with the superintendence and collection of the revenues of a zamindary are of opinion he does not derive a right from either of making a *hustobud* of a zamindary by measurement or of changing the ancient mode or rate of collecting the revenues without the previous permission of Government". In the eyes of the Committee then the

¹The letter is missing from the volume in the Bengal Historical Record Room.

power of a zamindar was hedged by restrictions as to the welfare of the tenants. It is an interesting commentary that after the permanent settlement the raiyats had to wait for sixty years before regaining the protection they lost in 1793.

By careful management Baharband escaped the disintegration which ruined so many of the older estates in the early years of the 19th century. After a prolonged period of farming leases the zamindars assumed direct control and the detailed tenure history of this period has been given in Chapter VII.

It now forms part of the Kasimbazar estate which was taken under the Court of Wards in 1929.¹

Chapter VII—Land tenure.

82. The Rangpur jotedars: meaning of jote and chukani.—The Rangpur jotedars have a long and interesting history. Writing to Warren Hastings on June 16th, 1778, the Collector gave a detailed account of the system of land tenure then prevalent:—

"There are four different sorts of pottahs in use in the Rangpur district called Khode, Chukanee, Moktab and Fussal. The khode pottah renders the raiyat liable to more payments than any other. . . . The pottah is besides liable to all new abwabs, mufassal karcha, etc., and is generally granted for the land which lays contiguous to raiyats' houses and yields most profit. The advantage to the raiyat is this. . . . Any one holding a khode pottah is entitled to farm whatever quantity of land he pleases and a raiyat never holds a khode pottah without one of the other three also, and sometimes he will rent land upon all four pottahs. It is a raiyat that makes farming his only business that generally holds the khode pottah."

As regards "chukanee pottahs" the Collector observed that they were liable

to all the new abwabs and cesses but were excluded from such old abwabs as were not specified in the lease. This type of lease was generally granted to raiyats who were new settlers in the pargana. A "moktab pottah" was a specific lease in which the rent was stated and the tenant was liable to no further abwabs. It was given for one year only. The "fussal pottah" was a lease fixed at the pargana rate of rent on the amount of land actually cultivated by the tenant; this was determined by yearly measurement—an interesting parallel to the system of *utbandi* found in other parts of Bengal to this day. The general system was for the tenants holding the khode pottah to engage for a considerable area on a fussal pottah thus giving them advantages over the holders of moktab and chukanee pottahs who were only, in very rare cases, allowed to hold fussal pottahs as well. The nomenclature of these early lease is especially interesting since they are used to the present day in the Patiladaha Estate (except for the moktab). It is a far cry however from the liberal terms of these early leases to the restricted rights of the present day jotedars. In these pre-permanent settlement days only the moktab lease had any restriction as to period, and the incidents of transferability and heritability were left to local custom. The leases were all cultivating leases, the conception of a pure rent collecting intermediate tenure-holder between zamindar and raiyat, being foreign to a period when the demand was for tenants rather than for land and when, as the khode pottah shows, privileges were granted for homestead land, an insurance by the zamindars against abandonment.¹ Thus in the khode pottah with its comparatively high incidence of rent can be seen the germ of the later khudkasht raiyats with their customary

¹In 1787 Mr. Hatch, the Collector of Dinajpur, proposed to the Collector of Rangpur that they should post peons on the borders of the parganas to arrest migrating tenants and adds "By this reciprocal service not merely security to the revenues will be ensured but improper emigration be checked and the inhabitants prevented from wandering backwards and forwards to the vexation of the officers of the collection, who in all these cases are induced to hold out false promises and practice every species of deception to induce the raiyats to settle."

¹The history of the other important parganas has been treated fully in Glazier's excellent "Report on the district of Rangpur" and is not reproduced here. There is also a full account of Pargana Patiladaha in the Mymensingh Settlement Report. The district gazetteer gives a careful summary of Glazier.

The conditions which gave rise to the subinfeudation of the 19th century were already present. Some of the bigger jotedars who were privileged to pay rent at the sadar cutchery and hence were known as "huzuri", were beginning to combine the adhi system and contracting with the landlord for the apportionment and payment of the rent assigned to particular villages. It was a short step from this to sub-letting.

semi-permanent rights and in the other less stable leases, the germ of the paikasht raiyats. From the time of the permanent settlement to the first tenancy legislation by Act X of 1859 the history of the Rangpur jotedars is a melancholy story of the steady restriction of early rights and privileges. As more and more land was brought under cultivation in the comparative security of British rule, population increased by leaps and bounds and the necessity for the zamindars to treat their raiyats with every consideration began to disappear. The cultivator of the land was no longer indispensable; he could be replaced. A parallel change was taking place amongst the raiyats themselves. The larger, or khudkasht raiyats began to sub-let land and their under-tenants were drawn largely from the class of paikasht raiyats who had become tenants at will. In Rangpur these were mainly cultivators who had held exclusively on the old "chukanee pottahs". The position, however, up to the passing of Act X of 1859, was terribly confused. Whether or not that Act defined existing rights as Mr. Justice Campbell in the great Rent Case held it was intended to do, or whether as held by Mr. Justice Stear "In the vast majority of cases Act X by the twelve year rule of occupancy has created rights which never existed before" is a problem which is beyond the scope of this report. The fact remains that by the twelve year period of prescription the rights of the tenants were to some extent safeguarded. The progress of subinfeudation however was still in its infancy and the tenure-holder was not given legislative recognition by Act X. By the time of the Rent Law Commission (1879) this fact had forced itself on the notice of the authorities. Citing the report Mr. Field observed, "a large majority of jotedars (of Rangpur) have small holdings and are raiyats proper. But a large number of jotedars have raiyats under them who are called chukanidars or Korfa projas. The chukanidars too have often raiyats under them and in some cases, especially in the larger jotes there are four or more degrees before you get to the actual cultivators". He also observed later: "There is therefore a permanent element in these chukani rights which may develop into an occupancy right". In other words not only the superior jote right (which was in origin a simple raiyati right) but the chukani right, should come under the operation of Act X. The new tenancy

legislation of 1885 recognised the independent existence of the large jotedars by assigning certain rights and privileges to tenure-holders or middlemen who were permanent, that is to say, whose tenancy was heritable and not held for a limited period. Once again the legislature had failed to keep pace with the trend of events in Rangpur. The history of the Baharband and Patiladaha jotes (*vide* below) has shown conclusively that even before Act X of 1859, stipulations were introduced into the leases which gravely imperilled the permanent rights of very old tenancies. In discussing the Patiladaha jotes in Mymensingh Mr. Sachse, the Settlement Officer very pertinently observed "The settlement department derived its authority from the Tenancy Act and conceived itself bound to classify all tenancies as tenures or holdings and all tenures as permanent or non-permanent according to the definitions of that Act. It thus committed itself to a fruitless struggle to fit square pegs into round holes". The same observation holds good in Rangpur. Many of the large jotedars were excluded from the benefits conferred by the Act on permanent tenures, because their leases contained provisions incompatible with the definition in section 3(9). This was probably an unintentional result of the legislation. Non-permanent tenures were left in the position of tenants at will because it was thought that they would be all pure ijaradars with no more than a speculative interest in the land. The Rangpur jotedars however were far from ijaradars. They had generally a long and close connection with the soil and had often inherited from generation to generation without interference. Some, as in pargana Baharband, have been able to establish their permanent rights, but others, as in pargana Patilidaha, have been left in an unenviable position.

The terms "jotedars" and "chukani-dar" thus cut across the classification of the Tenancy Act. The word "jote" itself means tillage or cultivation, but although, as has been shown, these tenancies were raiyati in origin, the term is now applied to any lessee holding directly from a proprietor, a patnidar, an Upanchaukidar or from large rent-free holders and brahmottârdars. He may be a tenure-holder, an under-tenure-holder or a raiyat. A chukanidar is a lessee under a jotedar and he

may be a raiyat or an under-raiyat. In a few cases chukanidars have been found to be tenure-holders.

83. Baharband and Gayabari jotes.—The question of what status was to be accorded to the large body of jotedars in the Kasimbazar estate arose at the outset. The Manager of the estate informed the Board of Revenue that he was preparing to maintain before the settlement authorities that all jotes which were not raiyati holdings, were temporary tenures liable to termination at the end of the period specified in the leases. In order to avoid the uncertainties and confusion which had arisen during the recording of the Patiladaha tenures in Mymensingh, the Hon'ble Member of the Board called a conference at Rangpur with the Director of Land Records, Settlement Officer and Manager of the estate. The Manager urged the view that legally the jotes were non-permanent as was shown by the case law which arose out of the Patiladaha cases. His view, however, was not altogether accepted and the general opinion of the conference was that the jotes should be recorded as permanent if possible and that if the present law remained unaltered the tenants might be willing to pay five years' rent as salami in return for permanent rights. The best solution however would be legislation along the lines proposed by Sir John Kerr's Committee to introduce a new section (section 183A, hybrid tenures) into the Act. The Hon'ble Member agreed to discuss the matter with the Revenue Department. Both these proposals fell through. Government was unwilling to introduce legislation on the lines indicated and the leading jotedars when consulted refused to agree to any salami. The proposal for setting up an arbitration board with the Collector, the Settlement Officer and a representative of the estate was then considered but was ultimately rejected as the jotedars were quite convinced that their claims for permanency would stand in a judicial interpretation of their leases. As the main object was to avoid the protracted litigation which followed the Mymensingh Settlement decisions on the Patiladaha jotes, it was eventually decided that a number of test cases should be decided by the Department after hearing legal opinion on both sides and that before general instructions were issued the decisions should be approved by the Board of Revenue on

behalf both of the Department and of the estate. This was done and the results fully supported the belief of the settlement authorities that the majority of the jotes which were not raiyatis, were permanent tenures.

The history of the jotes was examined in great detail. The estate was settled by Warren Hastings in 1779-A.D. on a mokarari lease which was ratified at the permanent settlement. Very few kabuliyats appear to have been taken from the jotedar tenants until 1814, though it is clear they had been settled on the land for reclamation purposes and exercised the customary rights and privileges of khudkasht raiyats. From 1814 to 1839 the estate was leased out to various ijaradars, except for three years (1833-1835) when it was administered by the Court of Wards. During these farming leases a number of kabuliyats were taken from the tenants by the ijaradars or Majul Mustajirs as they were called. In all cases the kabuliyats were confirmatory and were taken for exactly the same period as the farming lease. In other words the kabuliyats are no restriction on the holdings of the tenants *vis a vis* the landlord, they merely represent an agreement between ijaradar and tenant which had no bearing on the permanency or otherwise of the holding. The kabuliyats have two other interesting aspects. From the mudafats contained in many of them it is possible to trace the holding back to the permanent settlement and they contain no restrictions on transferability or inheritance but only on cutting trees, excavating tanks, or erecting indigo factories. In 1847 Rani Swarnamayi Debi assumed direct administrative control of the estate and granted leases directly to the jotedars. The leases specifically confirmed those granted by the Majul Mustajirs. They also make it quite clear that the *mead* or period refers to the currency of the rent and not to the permanency or otherwise of the jote. The following extract from a kabuliyat, dated 1260 B.S., is typical:—

"According to our prayer you have kept in abeyance the amount of Rs. 232-12 out of the *guzastha jama* of Rs. 5,333-12 till the next survey and jamabandi is made and you have granted an amalnama for the total rent of Rs. 5,100 for five years from 1260 to 1264 B.S."

The same kabuliyat makes the right of transfer conditional on the payment of arrear rents, and binds the tenants to appear and take fresh settlement after the expiry of the lease. Although there is no restriction on inheritance and no attempt to incorporate a clause of re-entry the kabuliyat is significant as it marks the beginning of the system whereby the rights of the tenants were restricted by successive contracts. The same period marks the introduction of the system known as *hajat bad*. In some of the old kabuliyats the rent was shown under two heads (1) *ekun jama*, (2) *guzastha jama*. The *guzastha jama* which was seldom realised was always greater than the *ekun*. From 1853 (1260 B.S.) onwards pressure was put on the tenants to accept the *guzastha jama* and where the enhancement would have been too great part of the *guzastha* was added to the *ekun* and the balance was left as *hajat* which was to be assessed at the next settlement. The system is interesting as it fortifies the conclusion that *mead* or period refers to the currency of the rent and that there was no suggestion that the right of permanency was in any way impaired. Had the jotes been terminable at the expiry of the *mead*, the inclusion of the *hajat* rent would have been meaningless.

The passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885 brought about a further change. The estate seems to have been doubtful at the time of the exact implications of the new legislation and the term "raiya" which had now been given a definite legal connotation was abandoned for the term "*praja*" (tenant). At the same time it was stipulated that the right of transfer could not be enjoyed without the consent of the landlord. From 1911 onwards there was a definite move to classify the jotedars as tenure-holders and the term *বায়দার* was used in the kabuliyats. In 1926 a new clause introducing the condition of non-heritability was added. In 1928 the salami of 25 per cent. which was claimed on transfer, was reduced to 20 per cent. bringing the jotes into the position of occupancy holdings in spite of the clear attempt to treat them as tenures.

There are various contemporary references to the transferable and heritable character of the Rangpur jotes which support the main conclusions reached

by this specific study of those in Baharband. In I. W. R. 5 (1864) it is said "There are various descriptions of tenures other than *mokarari* that can be sold and are sold every day. The *howlas* and *neem howlas* of Backar-gunje and the jotes of Rangpur for instance. Neither of these holdings are properly speaking *mokarari* but they are *maurashi* and contain hereditary rights which are, and always have been, considered transferable". Mr. Glazier, the Collector of Rangpur, wrote in 1876 that "jotes are saleable quite irrespective of the term for which they have been held. . . . If a man gets a jote to-day he can legally transfer it by sale to-morrow. Sales of jotes by registered deed or on decree of court are of daily occurrence." This view of Mr. Glazier was quoted with respect by the Rent Commissioners four years later.

The general conclusions derived from this examination may be summarised thus:—

(1) The old pattas and kabuliyats were confirmatory and did not mark the inception of the tenancy; in many cases they clearly showed that it existed from before the permanent settlement.

(2) The jotes were originally freely transferable and heritable but these privileges were restricted by confirmatory kabuliyats. Contemporary observers support this reading of the facts.

(3) Although a transfer salami is claimed and has actually been realised in some cases there is no evidence that this custom is well established. In the smaller jotes they were more in the nature of a mutation fee than anything else.

(4) The *mead* in the kabuliyats clearly refers to the currency of the rent and not to the tenancy itself.

(5) The jotes had all come under the operation of Act X of 1859 by which the jotedars had acquired occupancy rights.

(6) The jotes are not analogous to those considered in the famous Patiladaha cases (21 C.W.N. 809 and 25 C.W.N. 13). In particular there is no right of landlords re-entry in the kabuliyats.

On these grounds the jotes were recorded as permanent tenures, or, as occupancy raiyats if held not to be tenures. The rent was held liable to enhancement.

The case of the jotes in pargana Gayabari is on a slightly different footing. Their history is identical with that of the Baharband jotes until the year 1891 when an *ekandaj* survey was carried out in the pargana. The estate tried to assess the tenants on the basis of this but in spite of great indirect pressure by the cutcherry staff, such as the filing of rent suits for arrears of each kist, no enhancement was obtained. The dispute was continued in suits of various sorts one of which finally went to the High Court in 1907 when Coxe and Sharufuddin JJ. held the jotes to be heritable and transferable. This decision alarmed the estate and the Maharaja paid a personal visit to the area and by granting *mokarari* status to some of the more influential leaders and promising to ameliorate the social conditions he persuaded about 90 per cent. of them to execute fresh settlements and accept a progressive enhancement every 15 years from the prevailing rate of Rs. 9 per bish to the pargana rate of Rs. 21 per bish. The jotes were settled for 60 years with the option of renewal for a further 60 years on the expiry of the fresh term. Such tenures had to be recorded as non-permanent, though as their lease was one of 120 years, this did not appear to be so serious a loss of rights as the tenants believed. The *kabuliyats* clearly described the tenancies as *মধ্যস্থ অস্থায়ী*. Many of them however were found to be *raiya*ti holdings. In such cases the terms of the *kabuliyat* were held to be void under section 178 of the Tenancy Act as there was ample evidence to show that they had acquired occupancy rights before the *kabuliyats* were executed. Consequently, they were recorded as occupancy *raiya*ts. The few tenure-holders who had refused to accept the new settlement were recorded as permanent.

The estate has accepted these decisions as far as the settlement courts are concerned. No cases have been filed under section 103A or under section 106 except a few in which the status of tenure-holder in place of that of *raiya*ti, is claimed.

84. Patiladaha jotes.—The history and incidents of these jotes have been exhaustively discussed in the Mymensingh Settlement Report and it is unnecessary to recapitulate here. The three classes of jotes found in the estate are *khod*, *fasli* and *chukani*. Of these the *khod* jotes were recognised by the

estate rule book, prepared about 1870, as having a permanent and heritable right. The other jotes were recognised as having an inferior right. The *khod* jotes were recorded as permanent by the Mymensingh Settlement but this decision was reversed by the High Court (21 C.W.N. 809). A further and similar ruling on the jotes was made in 25 C.W.N. 13. Although these rulings must be accepted as authoritative on those jotes which are tenures the position is still far from satisfactory. The question as to whether the jotes were tenures or *raiya*ti holdings was not in issue in the cases quoted. Mr. Justice Richardson however expressed his opinion quite plainly "I have a strong suspicion that in spite of their present area the jotes were, in their origin, *raiya*ti holdings, or they may have grown out of smaller holdings of a *raiya*ti nature. The special incidents now attached, or sought to be attached to them by contract resemble very largely the ordinary incidents of a *raiya*ti holding at the present day." That this is the correct view can hardly be doubted when read in conjunction with the letter of the Collector of Rangpur of 1778 (quoted above). Unfortunately the earlier *kabuliyats* of the jotes are not forthcoming and the majority of those produced in evidence were similar to those considered in the reported cases and contained various restrictions including the landlords' right of re-entry after the expiry of the *mead*, and many of them contain clauses such as "I shall not give out the holding in *ijara*" which has been held by the courts to be inconsistent with *raiya*ti status; in fact whatever their origin the status has become that of a tenure by mutual consent of landlord and tenant. We thus get the anomalous position that whereas the jotes undoubtedly had a common origin, the smaller ones which from their size and from the behaviour of the landlords and tenants, are clearly *raiya*ti in purpose, get the substantial protection afforded by occupancy rights, the larger jotes, which must be held as tenures, become practically tenants at will. What impressed the Settlement staff in dealing with these cases at attestation and again under section 103A of the Tenancy Act was the extreme bitterness and indignation amongst the larger *jotedars* when they discovered what an insecure tenure they held, in the eyes of the law, in lands which had passed in their families from

generation to generation and in which they had always considered they possessed permanent rights. It is possible that in the future the estate may be driven to ask itself whether its legal "pound of flesh" has been worth the resentment and sense of injustice aroused amongst its tenants.

85. Upanchaki tenures.—Upanchaki tenures are peculiar to Cooch Behar and Rangpur, and in Rangpur they are found chiefly in the areas which previously formed part of the independent territory of Cooch Behar. This, combined with the fact that the tenures are almost all pre-permanent settlement, suggests that they originated in Cooch Behar. Very few of the original grants are available, but from subsequent confirmatory documents, it is clear that many of them were made direct by the Cooch Behar Rajahs. Their existence puzzled the early British administrators and they were at first inclined to treat them as part of the invalid revenue free lands. Writing to Warren Hastings on the subject on 16th May 1780 Mr. Bogle, the Collector, reported that "the zamindars' agents had, in the past, exercised the privilege of making rent-free grants and likewise of granting villages on a tenure called Opinchukee, a term peculiar to this province by which the possessor is liable only to the payment of the original rent and is exempted from taxes or subsequent assessment. These grants also were generally made of your orders at a reduced rent." The Committee of Revenue in Calcutta considered in the following year whether these grants were resumable or not and instructed the Collector to state "how much of the revenue in your opinion has been defalcated by the institution of Opinchukee lands". They were not resumed. Then the question arose as to how they were to be treated at the decennial settlement, in sending his proposals to the President of the Board of Revenue in April 1790. Mr. Purling, the Collector, quoted the description given by the Kanungo's gomastah:—

"The zamindars voluntarily give sunnuds for the expenses of Divine Worship or for maintenance of any one, granting Talloks or Kismuts (which latter are interpreted as very small quantities of land in contradistinction from Talooks) the proportion of the jumma of the zamindary

being noted thereon without mahtoots or any additional cesses whatever. On such grants no abwabs of any kind are taken. This is one kind of Birtee or charity and is called Opunchukee in this country. In other countries it is not called Upunchukee but Kurrari Zemin or Tukah or Mucurrari Jumma".

As a result of the discussions they were treated as assets of the estates in which they lay. The incidents of these tenures are now well recognised though not always clearly stated in the grants. They may be described simply as heritable and transferable tenures held at a low rate of rent which is fixed in perpetuity. They are in fact, similar both in name and nature to the panchaki tenures created by the Rajah of Vishnupur in the jungle mahals of Bankura. The low rate of rent is frequently explained by the holders as being fixed at one-fifth of the pargana rate. Though the name suggests this as a possible reason no direct evidence is available in support of it and in fact it is very curious that this was not noticed by the officials who investigated the nature of the tenures in the latter part of the 18th century. That they were originally created at a reduced rent is clear from the Collector's letter of 1780 whilst a further considerable reduction, below the pargana rates would gradually appear due to their exemption from any mahtut, cess or abwab. This is most probably the cause of the nominal rates which were found to exist during the Settlement proceedings. These rates varied from 10 pies per acre to 4 annas per acre whilst the area often comprised entire villages. Many of the larger Upanchakis in old estates such as Kakina and Manthana were found in possession of the landlords themselves as *sebait*s of the deity in whose name they had been created.

86. Rani and Rajkumari jotes of Kakina.—A large number of jotes were found in the Kakina estate, in the possession of the Rani Saheba and the Rajkumaries. These jotes were created before the passing of the Transfer of Property Act and were subsequently made khas and allotted for the maintenance of the Rani and Rajkumaries. No rent however was fixed as payable to the estate on their account. The

¹Not necessarily settlement villages, but *paras* or wards having recognised names and boundaries.

matter was discussed and in 1927 the Board of Revenue suggested that a nominal rent of Rs. 250 should be fixed. There was much unnecessary delay and before the suggestion was carried out the estate was mortgaged. The mortgagees naturally objected to a nominal quit rent being fixed. They also contended that the jotes had no independent existence and should be merged. The latter contention was not allowed as the doctrine of merger did not apply to jotes created before 1882. As regards the rent their objection was upheld as the estate had failed to establish the nominal quit rent before the mortgage was executed. The jotes were consequently recorded as permanent tenures liable to the payment of rent and it was left to the parties to apply under section 105 for fixing a fair rent.

87. **Jalkars.**—In accordance with the rules of the decennial settlement all jalkar revenue, separately assessed, was consolidated with the land revenue of the estate. As a result of this, combined with the legally established principle that the jalkar right follows the river wherever it flows, most of the estates which possess any jalkar right at all do so in a number of villages in which they have no other interest, the courses of all the rivers having altered considerably since 1790. This was productive of a number of keenly contested disputes at attestation. The usual method of dealing with jalkars is to let them out in *ijara* to a contractor who grants a *meadi* lease to a group of fishermen charging them at a fixed rate for every fishing trip or every net that they use. When the owner of the jalkar right is also the owner of the sub-soil, a jalkar settlement is made with the cultivators who pay so much additional jalkar rent. There is one small jalkar mahal in the district which is settled by Government.

88. **Petbhata khamar lands.**—In the Kakina and Tushbandar estates a considerable area of land known as petbhata khamar was found. No revenue appeared to be fixed for these lands nor were they registered in the district taidad register of 1207 B.S. During the thakbust survey they were not mapped separately. The area involved in the Tushbandar estate was 680 acres and in the Kakina estate

2,458 acres. In the case of Kakina a number of sanads were produced. These were stated to have been granted during 1741 and 1742 by the then Maharaja of Cooch Behar confirming previous grants, of the same lands. In the case of Tushbandar there was no documentary evidence of title. Under the circumstances resumption cases under Regulation II of 1819 were started for the lands of each estate. After a prolonged enquiry it was held by the Settlement Officer (1) that the sanads were forgeries, (2) that the area involved in both the cases had not been assessed to revenue at the decennial settlement, (3) that the lands were not held by virtue of any valid title and (4) that the laws of limitation were no bar to resumption. When the cases went before the Board of Revenue the estates dropped all other contentions except the second point as to whether or not the lands were assessed to revenue at the decennial settlement. This point was decided on an interpretation of the quinquennial returns and it was held that the petbhata lands were those referred to in section 39 of Regulation VIII of 1793, were annexed to the malguzari lands becoming jointly responsible with them for the payment of Government revenue and are now practically the khamar lands of section 116 of the Tenancy Act. They have thus always been part of the estate on which revenue was assessed and are not liable to resumption. They were accordingly recorded within the estate. Petbhata lands were also found in the Manthana, Tajhat and Fatehpur estates. In Manthana and Tajhat the lands were separately mapped during the thak, though no estate was formed. They were held to be valid revenue-free lands and were created into *tauzis*. In the case of Fatehpur no chaks were surveyed in the thak and the lands were held to be similar to those of the Kakina and Tushbandar estates.

89. **Invalid lakheraj.**—The registration of all lakheraj grants was made compulsory in 1793, non-badshahi grants by Regulation XIX and badshahi grants by Regulation XXXVII. Grants not registered within twelve months became *ipso facto* liable to resumption. The Regulations also laid down what grants were to be held valid and what invalid. If grants were invalid then

they were liable to pay revenue to Government if they exceeded 100 pargana bighas and rent to the zemindar if less. Claims were to be tried in a Court of Judicature. The registration was a failure throughout most of the province and registers were not prepared. The rules were consequently reissued by Regulation VIII of 1800. Rangpur seems to have been an exception and a register under Regulation XIX was prepared. It was however burnt during the cutcherry fire in 1798 and a second register, still extant, was prepared under Regulation VIII. This is dated 1207 B.S. (1800 A.D.). It contained both badshahi and non-badshahi grants. The number of entries was 19,801. A fresh proclamation was issued in case any unregistered lands still remained and in 1816 a supplementary register with 1,946 entries was compiled. All of them were also contained in the original register. The zamindars did not avail themselves of their right to resume and most of the grants, which were less than 100 bighas, were struck off the roll. No action to investigate the validity of the remaining entries was taken for a long time. Apparently the procedure under Regulations XIX and XXXVII was too slow and cumbrous and for many years Regulation II of 1819 was not used. Eventually one or two cases were started about 1836 and the majority were taken up in 1841 or 1842. As a result 313 were held to be valid and 125 were resumed. The next investigation occurred during the thakbast survey. The rules required the surveyors to demarcate, amongst other things, independent holdings which included "concealed rent-free tenures discovered by the survey and referred for investigation to the Collector". A number of these are shown on the maps as chaks, described in the schedule as "betadaraki lakheraj." Some were released and were shown in the released lakheraj register prepared in 1863-64. In most cases however there is no record of any action or enquiry by the Collector.

During the operations an enquiry case was started for all lands exceeding 100 parganas bighas for which no rent or revenue was paid and on account of which there appeared to be no valid rent or revenue-free grant. A preliminary enquiry was then held as

to whether any previous resumption proceedings existed. If they did they were followed. If they did not then three points were examined (1) whether a valid revenue-free title existed, (2) whether it was held free of payment of rent to any proprietor, (3) whether it was excluded from the assets of all revenue-paying estate. If the answer to these was in the affirmative then the case was forwarded to the Collector for inclusion in the register of revenue-free estates. Otherwise it was recorded as rent free or, if proved to have been excluded from assessment at the decennial settlement, regular resumption proceedings were started. In many cases entries in the taidad register of 1207 B.S. were filed and if these had not previously been held invalid and the dates of the grant were valid in accordance with the terms of Regulation XIX and XXXVII of 1793, the entry was admitted as proof of revenue-free title. It was always very difficult to identify the taidad lands with the lands under enquiry and a good deal of latitude had necessarily to be allowed. If the mauza names agreed and there was not too great a discrepancy in area, closer identification was not demanded. The following table shows the number of enquiries started and the results:—

Number of cases examined ...	72
Number of cases released after the production of a sanad ...	3
Number of cases released after identification in the taidad registers ...	39
Number of cases released for other reasons ...	19
Number of cases submitted to the Board of Revenue ...	11
Number of cases released by the Board of Revenue ...	8
Number of cases resumed by the Board of Revenue ...	3
Number of new revenue-free estates created ...	104
Total area involved ...	17,853·89 acres.

90. **Patni tenures.**—The number of patni tenures recorded was not large. The term however is very loosely used in the district, especially in areas like the Nilphamari subdivision where tenure-holders are small and their

knowledge of revenue law is defective. Ordinary mokarari jotes were frequently described as patnis although there was no intention of either contracting party to apply the Patni Taluks Regulation and the terms of the kabuliyat were inconsistent with the incidents of such a tenure. In other subdivisions a few big patnis were found in possession of important landed proprietors. These were leased out by female proprietors or by proprietors who found themselves in financial difficulties. One of the biggest patnis in the district was leased to the Maharaja of Kasimbazar by the Bhitareband landlords in order to bring to a close a protracted boundary litigation between the two estates.

91. **Rent-paying tenures.**—The following table shows the number of tenancies in each subdivision according to the three principal classifications:—

Subdivisions.	Permanent tenure holders at fixed rates or rents.	Permanent tenure holders not at fixed rates or rents.	Temporary tenure holders.
Gaibandha ..	3,487	6,498	854
Kurigram ..	3,306	20,274	3,046
Nilphamari ..	1,700	3,083	47
Sadar ..	5,572	6,311	59

The temporary tenure-holders are principally confined to the Gayabari pargana of the Kasimbazar estate in thana Bhurungamari and the Patilidaha estate in thana Phulchhari. It is not a class of tenure that prevails to any extent in the other estates of the district. Almost all the tenure-holders of the Kasimbazar estate are non-mokarari. This accounts for the large number falling under that head in Kurigram subdivision. There are very few cases of service tenure-holders or of tenure-holders paying rent in kind.

92. **Rent-free tenures.**—21,880 rent-free tenures have been recorded. They are remarkable more for their number than for their size which as a rule does not exceed 2 to 3 acres each. The area left in khas possession is very small averaging a little under half an acre per tenure. In many cases the entire tenancy is sub-let. The three principal types which occur are *brahmottar*,

debottar and *pirottar*. The *brahmottars* are the most common and are grants originally made to Brahmins for religious purposes. Large numbers of them date from before the permanent settlement though, by repeated transfers, they have largely lost their original purpose and many are to be found now in the possession of non-Brahmin Hindus and Muslims. A large number of *debottar* lands were originally *brahmottar* but were purchased by the proprietors of the estate and dedicated to a family deity. Most of the big estates have got lands of this nature. The *pirottars* or *pirpals* were, in most cases, granted originally by Hindu zamindars to selected villagers for the worship of a *pir*. A villager was elected either by the zamindar, or more often, by his co-villagers, as custodian of the property. As is common in such circumstances the elective principle soon receded into the background and the custodians become hereditary. The proportion of the produce used for religious purposes, decreased at the same time and is now very small. The greatest number of *pirottars* is found in the south-western areas adjoining Ghoraghat in Dinajpur. The largest number of *brahmottars* occurs in thanas Pirgachha and Kotwali. The title to hold the lands rent-free was proved in various ways. Some very old *sanads* and *chhars* granted by well-known landlords like Rani Bhowani or Rani Satyabati were produced and a number of entries from the taidad register of 1800 A.D. were filed. Occasionally old sale deeds were available in which the history of the tenancy was given. By far the greatest number however were proved by adverse possession and in the absence of proper estate records it was very difficult for the landlords to contest this. It is morally certain that many of them were encroachments on the landlords' khas land but having acquiesced in this, their case went by default. In some of the big estates attempts were made to recover rent-free alienations by getting them included in the khas lands of partition proceedings. This was done in the big partition of Tauzi No. 204 (Bhitareband) when the rent-free holders also happened to be co-sharer proprietors and were thus bound by the proceedings.

In all cases when the tenure exceeded 100 pargana bighas special enquiries

were made to determine whether the title was valid or whether the area was resumable to revenue.

The question as to how far these tenures, where title has accrued by virtue of long possession, are voidable encumbrances under section 37 of the Land Revenue Sales Act, was raised towards the end of the settlement. It seems almost certain that they should be treated as mokarari tenures at a zero rent. If that is so then the holders are entitled to the presumption under section 50 (2) of the Tenancy Act that the tenure has existed from the time of the permanent settlement and if that is not rebutted the tenancy is protected by section 37, 1st exception, of the Land Revenue Sales Act. It is certain that no rent-free tenure was recorded without at least 20 years' possession being proved. Unfortunately no entry to this effect has been made and it is doubtful if the courts will accept the words "ভোগদখল সূত্রে" as conveying mokarari status.¹

93. Raiyats holding at fixed rates.—19,015 holdings, or about 2 per cent. of the area, have been recorded mokarari. The figure appears low when compared with 3 per cent. in Mymensingh, 4 per cent. in Faridpur and 10 per cent. in Bankura. By far the greatest number occur in Sadar subdivision.

Subdivisions.	Number of mokarari holdings.
Kurigram	... 2,028
Nilphamari	... 2,267
Gaibandha	... 3,200
Sadar	... 11,520

The areas near to the Brahmaputra which are subject to fluvial action have hardly any, the areas near to the towns such as Kotwali and Gaibandha thanas, where the leases are old, show the greatest number. In Phulchhari and Saghata thanas where records were prepared for several villages by the Mymensingh Settlement party, very few were recorded as mokarari. The remaining tenants were thus debarred

under section 115 of the Tenancy Act from raising the statutory presumption under section 50 (2). In the Panga estate where a petty settlement under Chapter X of the Tenancy Act was made in 1906, hardly any of the raiyats were recorded mokarari since it was proved that in about 1840 the estate had been leased to an indigo factory and a general enhancement had been made. Section 115 applied here too. The prevalence of general enhancements, and illegal enhancements, which, following 63 I.C. 317, were held to rebut the presumption arising under section 50 (2), also accounts for the small number of mokarari holdings. A large proportion of those which were recorded occurred under tenure-holders. There were only one or two cases of contractual mokarari, in one of these cases the claim was based on a *patta* granted by Rani Bhawani as long ago as 1170 B.S. Where these factors did not operate a very high proportion of the claims were allowed. With the exception of a few of the big estates the landlord's papers are very carelessly maintained. Many of the *jama-wasilbakis* on which they principally relied were disjointed and fragmentary papers strung together for the purpose of settlement litigation. They could not be accepted as "books of account, regularly kept in the course of business". Even when they were reasonably complete the landlords as often as not were unable to identify the *jamias* recorded therein with the *jamias* recorded by the settlement staff. The absence of a *jama* from the papers was not accepted as rebutting the presumption raised. The case of the landlords who had recently purchased their estates was the most difficult. The outgoing proprietor, usually a defaulter who had been sold up, was in no mood to help the newcomer and he seldom made over his entire *sherista*. The result was that any tenant who could produce his twenty years' rent receipts obtained the benefit of section 50 (2) without opposition. On the other hand, especially in Nilphamari subdivision, the *naibs* were sometimes successful in exerting indirect pressure on their tenants and preventing them from bringing their rent receipts to the attestation camp. This occurred most frequently in the villages where the *dewanas* wielded the greatest influence and went a long way to confirm the

¹In future settlements an entry will be made showing whether the rent-free tenure has been held for more than 20 years or not.

impression that they were often little more than zamindar's agents. The only legal point that gave any trouble in dealing with these mokaṛari claims was the exact import to be attached to *hajāt* rent. This is a common device in Rangpur whereby a landlord takes a kabuliyat for a rent of, say, Rs. 10 and collects only Rs. 8 leaving Rs. 2 in abeyance as *hajāt*. The case law on the subject is quite clear and, if the rent is altered in a confirmatory kabuliyat, by the inclusion of *hajāt*, then the presumption of mokaṛari is rebutted. This operates harshly against the tenants who in all cases accepted the *hajāt* not as an enhancement but as a penalty which was liable to be enforced by a rent suit in case of default. The same view was taken by the landlords and not a single case of realisation of the *hajāt* rent was reported, except occasionally by rent suit. Consequently in cases where it was not clearly specified in the kabuliyat that the *hajāt* was part of the rent, attestation officers were instructed to decide this point first. If it was held to be part of the rent, then the presumption under section 50 (2) was rebutted, if it was not, then the presumption was allowed to stand.

94. **Occupancy raiyats.**—There are no unusual features about the settled and occupancy raiyats. The average size of the holdings is 2·4 acres, though in the jute areas, such as Gaibandha, it is increased to about 3 acres. The area in khas possession is much less than this. Nearly half of the holdings only keep between 1/10 of an acre and an acre. There are very few cases of occupancy raiyats who are not also settled raiyats of the village. Almost all pay cash rents. There are a few produce-paying raiyats in Kundi pargana who were originally chakrandars (*beharas* or palanquin bearers). When their chakran was withdrawn they became produce-paying tenants. There are also a few in thana Gobindaganj. Elsewhere their numbers are negligible. The provisions of the amended Tenancy Act of 1928 are generally observed though in one or two cases, particularly in Ulipur, salami is still exacted if trees are cut down by the tenant. Another general exaction is the mutation fee which is demanded by the landlord, for noting succession in his sherista. In cases where the

tenants refuse to pay, the holding is maintained in the original name. In Patiladaha pargana several cases were observed where occupancy raiyats had paid salami and enhancement for a fresh settlement when the superior jote was purchased. This was due to the confusion of the term *chukani* with the term *korfa*. Raiyati kabuliyats invariably specify a *mead* or term of years. They also frequently contain other restrictions which are void under section 178 of the Tenancy Act. In fact very little attention is paid by the raiyat except to the clauses dealing with the amount of rent and the area of the land. It is true that the raiyat is protected in the majority of cases by section 178 but occasions are not infrequent in which landlords are able to weaken their position by the insertion of clauses which they either do not read or do not understand. *Hajāt* rent is a case in point. There are strong grounds for Government issuing and enforcing the use of standard leases for each class of tenant defined in the Tenancy Act.

95. **Non-occupancy raiyats.**—There are very few non-occupancy raiyats. Out of those recorded 90 per cent. are recent immigrants to the char lands of the Tista and Brahmaputra rivers and are thus to be found in the eastern thanas of the district. Section 180 of the Tenancy Act applies in all the char and diara areas. In practice there was no difficulty in determining which these areas were as the terms were clearly recognised by the tenants. If however litigation arose it would be very difficult to determine some of the marginal areas and clearer guidance, than is at present provided in the Act, is desirable.

96. **Under-raiyats.**—The under-raiyats are most numerous in the eastern thanas. The size of their holdings is very small 461,929 have less than one acre in khas possession. Another 101,491 hold less than 2 acres khas, whilst the number holding more lands than this is infinitesimal. The majority of them however cultivate some land in adhi as well. Of those without occupancy rights by custom, nearly 75 per cent. are protected under section 48C of the Tenancy Act and many of the others enjoy considerable indulgence as regards transfers. Even before the amendment

of the Tenancy Act in 1928 under-raiyati holdings were freely inherited without the payment of any selami, though a small mutation fee was usually taken. Although the holdings are not transferable without permission of the landlord, such transfers take place automatically, selami is paid and the new tenant generally agrees to a small enhancement of rent. It is also very unusual for a purchaser of the superior raiyati right to serve a notice under section 167 of the Tenancy Act on the under-raiyat. Not more than thirty or forty such cases were reported during the whole of the settlement proceedings and those that were served were by non-agricultural purchasers. It is generally conceded that the under-tenant has a moral, if not a legal, right to be recognised by his new landlord, provided he agrees to a small enhancement of his rent. This latter condition however is not always enforced. The *meadi* kabuliyat is as common amongst under-raiyats as it is amongst raiyats and it is equally ignored: almost all of them hold over long after the expiry of the *mead*. Thus, they are treated as having certain customary privileges beyond those specified in the Tenancy Act, though such privileges do not, in the majority of cases amount to occupancy rights by custom.

97. Occupancy rights of under-raiyats.—Occupancy rights by custom have been recorded in the case of 33,532 holdings. Under the Amended Tenancy Act these rights are now statutory. The group of cases in thanas Chilmari, Gai-bandha, Phulchhari and Saghata were chiefly those dealt with by the Mymensingh Settlement in 1917. It was considered that as customary rights prevailed in these villages in 1917, they should be recorded now. The other cases occurred in thanas Hatibandha, Kaliganj, Lalmonirhat, Fulbari and Kurigram. In these areas the under-raiyati holdings were inherited without payment of any selami, transfers were invariably recognised and lands were held for protracted periods without any cases of ejectment on the sale of the superior interest.

98. Adhiars.—The system of adhi, or allowing land to be cultivated on payment of a share of the produce, is very common. The Adhiars however do not form a distinct class except in the extreme north-west of the district. They are recruited from amongst the poorer under-tenants who do not hold sufficient lands in tenancy right to maintain themselves and their families. Only

in one or two cases have they been recognised by contract as tenants; generally they are regarded as having no rights at all in the adhi lands. There is always abundant land of this nature to be had and an adhiar accepts as quite normal, an order to quit the land after reaping the harvest. In the north-western areas there are some peculiar features. Many of the adhiars are poor labourers and own no land of their own. They are allowed to erect houses on their adhi land and the materials for the house are supplied by the owner of the land. The house however belongs to the landlord and cannot be removed without his permission if the adhiar leaves. In the khatians the adhiar, in such cases, has been recorded as in permissive possession. Under such circumstances there are families of adhiars who have been on the same land for 15 or 20 years. It is amongst such people that the few cases are found where they have developed into produce-paying tenants and have been so recognised by the landlords. The normal principle is that the adhiar supplies half the seed and the labour whilst the landowner supplies the plough and cattle, the remainder of the seed and, if necessary, manure. More often than not the adhiar takes an advance of the entire seed and possibly also some grain as well. This is recouped with heavy interest, generally 50 per cent., at harvest time. It is a safe investment for the landlord and a very profitable one. In the north of the district many cases were reported of adhiars fleeing across the border before the crop was harvested as they had completely mortgaged their own half share. The amount of seed or manure supplied by the landlord varies from place to place but it is a general rule that anything above the customary amount is added, with interest, to his share of the harvest. The type of man who lets land in adhi has often got interests outside agriculture as well. The careful cultivator does not like the system as he thinks and probably rightly, it leads to careless farming and deterioration of the soil.

¹The system of adhi is one of the oldest methods of subinfeudation in this district. In 1789 Mr. Harington wrote "A considerable proportion of the grainlands in Seroopoor (Swaruppur pargana) are cultivated in these terms by the inferior raiyats who are termed Addeea or Halvers, from giving half of the produce.....They also in general hold small spots of land from the zamindar on which they reside and cultivate pulse, the castor oil shrub and other articles at a rent payable in money," i.e., whilst the adhi lands were held from the huzuri jotedars, the homestead was held direct from the zamindar.

99. Miscellaneous holdings. —

Amongst the miscellaneous types of holdings are *chakrans*, *dakhalkars* and *utbandi*. The *chakrans* are few in number and are chiefly granted to servants of the landlord's office, such as his peons or barbers or washermen. They are thus resumable, and, in the Kundi pargana many have been resumed and changed into produce-paying tenancies. They are common in the Kakina estate. In Pirganj are to be found a few *cheraqi chakrans* for illuminating the tombs of Muslim saints. Although this practice has fallen into disuse no resummptions have been attempted. *Dakhalkars* are found in all the urban areas. They are dealt with in Chapter IX. Some holdings subject to alluvion and diluvion along the banks of the Tista are held on the principle of *utbandi*. The land is surveyed every year and the rent assessed on the land actually cultivated by the tenant. As the custom of *utbandi* does not prevail in Rangpur they were given the status of ordinary raiyats and an explanatory note was put in the khatian to the effect that section 180 of the Tenancy Act was not applicable.

100. The effect of the Amended Act on transfers.—Before the Amendment Act of 1928 the legal position as regards the transferability of occupancy holdings was unsatisfactory. Under section 183 (old) the matter was left to local custom, but where there was no custom of saleability it was doubtful whether a sale made without permission of the landlord was void *ab initio* or was merely voidable. Section 26A to 26J of the amended Act recognise the fact that in practice occupancy holdings were frequently transferred and the transfer was admitted by the landlord on receipt of selami, in the majority of cases. This salami has now been standardised and called landlord's transfer fee. Transfers are to be made by registered deeds and the transfer fee deposited at the time of registration. The only restriction on transfer is the right of landlord's pre-emption in certain cases, a right which was found to be hardly ever exercised in Rangpur. The figures for transfers gathered from the registration offices show a big decline after the introduction of the new Act (April 2nd, 1929). The comparison is not altogether fair as the second period corresponded with a sharp decline in

agricultural prices, a consequent money famine and restrictions on sales :—

	1928-28.	1931-33.
Compulsory registered deeds of sale, exchange of immovable properties ..	73,276	24,811
Sales, gifts and exchanges under the Tenancy Act ..	..	15,955

The impression gathered by the officers of the Department was that the introduction of compulsory salami was generally resented by the cultivators and acted as a deterrent to transfers. Previously the elasticity of the rural economy enabled the payment of salami to be spread over many years and in cases of real distress to be sometimes remitted. There seems to be no doubt that the salami in many cases went not to the landlords, who remained ignorant of the transaction, but to the landlord's agents. Under the new law this form of speculation is more difficult and consequently even after the transfer has been registered and the landlord's fee paid, a further salami is frequently exacted under the guise of a mutation fee when entire holdings are transferred. This may amount to between 5 per cent. and 10 per cent. of the consideration money. Where shares of holdings are transferred, 20 per cent. is regularly exacted as the fee for splitting up the holding and allowing the purchaser to hold at a separate jama. Though it is probably not true to say, as is frequently urged, that the amended Act has reduced the value of land by 20 per cent. there is no doubt that it has contributed to the decline. Many devices were found in use to avoid its operation. Under section 18 of the Act the transfer fee payable by raiyats at fixed rates is the same as that payable in the case of a permanent tenure, i.e., 2 per cent. of the annual rent. The parties to the transfer thus frequently declared to the sub-registrar that their holding was mokarari. In the absence of a record of rights the sub-registrar had nothing by which he could dispute this and the transfer was registered accordingly. Another device was for the transferor to execute a *patta* for 12 years (thus keeping within section 48H) at the rent already being paid, naming the purchase price as salami. Many unregistered transfers were found which had taken place with the connivance of the landlord's agents, the salami being paid as it used to be paid before 1929.

101. Effect of the amended Act on mortgages.—The only form of mortgage into which an occupancy raiyat may now enter is a complete usufructuary mortgage for a period not exceeding 15 years. No other type of mortgage is now registered but there are a large number of disguised unregistered transactions sometimes described as *ijaras* and sometimes as ordinary leases with the sum mortgaged shown as rent paid in advance. Kanungos were instructed to differentiate such cases from regular sub-leases and record them as illegal mortgages on the grounds that the relationship of landlord and tenant did not exist.

102. System of rent assessment.—The principles of assessment adopted in the permanently-settled areas are complicated by several factors. In the first place rents are not purely economic and competitive and in the second place the traditional conception of assessment in crops or specific classes of land, which is perpetuated to the present day in zamindary papers, is very misleading as far as Rangpur is concerned. The pargana rates filed at or before the permanent settlement are completely valueless. On his minute of June 1789 Mr. Shore stated "At present no uniformity whatsoever is observed in the demands upon the raiyats. The rates not only vary in the different collectorships, but in the parganas composing them, in the villages and in the lands of the same village, and the total exacted far exceeds the rates of Todar Mal." The detailed examination of the resources of pargana Swaruppur made by Mr. Harrington in the same year showed how true this criticism was. He found that the rates alleged to be assessed on the crops grown, were completely divorced from reality and that in actual fact the raiyats were paying at a flat rate of about 15 annas per acre. In 1828 a fresh series of *nirik-namas* were filed in the Collectorate by the kanungos. It was stated that the mode of assessment had changed and was now made on classes of land and not on the crop grown. Such rates are found in almost all zamindary papers even to-day. They vary considerably, are very detailed and are extremely elastic. As an example the rates for pargana Baharband as ascertained by Mr. Crawford in 1871 and as found in the present estate papers, are appended.

Reported by Mr. Crawford.		Found in modern estate papers.	
Class of land.	Rent per acre.	Class of land.	Rent per acre.
	Rs.		Rs.
Awal (1st class).	3 to 12	Twice cropped.	2-2 to 6.
Dwaium (2nd class).	2-4 to 9	Once cropped.	1-4 to 2.
Chhaium (3rd class).	1-8 to 4-8		
Chhaharam (4th class).	As. 6 to 1-4		
Homestead	3 to 12	Homestead	6 to 7-8.
Garden ..	3 to 9 ..	Garden ..	6 to 7-8.
Thatching grass.	1-14 to 4-8	Thatching grass.	2-2 to 3.
Bamboo ..	1-14 to 4-8	Bamboo ..	2-4 to 4-8.
Sugarcane ..	6 to 15 ..	Sugarcane	2-8.

It is almost certain that the rates given by Mr. Crawford were no longer in force in 1871. An examination of a number of tenancies as they existed in this pargana before the *ekandaj* survey of 1287-1292 B.S. shows that the incidence of rent was between Re. 1-2 and Re. 1-6 per acre, very much below what it could possibly have been had the rates been strictly applied. A possible explanation is that the amount of land held by the individual tenants was greatly in excess of the area assessed. If this is so then the rates are clearly artificial. Rates in the other parganas show similar discrepancies. As regards the rent in force to-day, neither tenants nor landlords recognise assessment on classes of land, in practice, though elaborate classifications are made in many of the *kabuliyats*. This is conclusively shown by a number of circumstances. Enhancements are frequently made on account of excess area in the holding. In all such cases they are made at so many annas in the rupee without any attempt to ascertain the classes of land involved. No tenant or landlord's agent can distinguish the various classes, awal, dwaium, chhaium, etc., which appear in the *kabuliyats* and this fact is recognised in some of the estate papers—such as pargana Chakla Purbabhag—by lumping together all arable land at a flat rate. Lastly, preferential settlements for *dewanias*, enhancements made on particular holdings on the occasion of a transfer or a new settlement and the growth of subinfeudation have led to similar lands bearing different rents.

Unless we are to assume some elaborate settlement made in the past on the basis of classification of lands, for which there is not the slightest evidence, it must be admitted that rentals in Rangpur are, and, at least since 1765, always have been, lump rentals. The system of rates, assessed on classes of lands, is an historical survival, which has long ceased to have any connection with reality. On the other hand there can be no doubt that rents are now tending to become competitive. The absurdly high rates which were established for under raiyats in the boom years of the jute industry and the subsequent abandonments and desertions when the slump came, afford proof of this. Even in the case of occupancy raiyati holdings, where the tenants are more permanent and are more fully protected by the Tenancy Act against the unrestricted play of economic forces, the holdings in the jute and tobacco areas bear a higher incidence of rent than other areas and in the south-west of the district it is noticeable that *pali* lands bear a higher rent than the less fertile *khiyar* tracts. As new settlements are constantly being made and the Tenancy Act does not limit initial contractual rents, this process, now that the demand is for the lands rather than for tenants, is inevitable.

The history of enhancements in the big estates shows that rents began to rise soon after the passing of Act X of 1859, though the evidence is too slight to say whether this Act was responsible. The earliest enhancements of Kakina, Baharband, Muktipur (tauzi 107), Islamabad (tauzi 208), Bamandanga and Balihar all date from this period and the smaller estates followed suit soon after. During the last thirty years enhancements have been made in almost all the important mahals.

Statistics of land tenure and rent.

103. Area in direct possession of the proprietors.—The area found in the direct possession of the proprietors is 159,295 acres included in 12,920 holdings. This is 7.6 per cent. of the total area, excluding the water area left outside the record but including as much of it as has been recorded within the estate. The percentage is high and consists mainly of land unsettled or land dedicated to the household deity.

104. Area in direct possession of the tenure-holders.—The table below shows

the main classes and the percentages of land held directly :—

Class of tenure.	Number of holdings.	Total area in acres.	Percentage to total area surveyed within the estate.
Rent-free tenure-holders.	21,880	10,100	.45
Permanent tenure-holders on fixed rents or rates.	14,065	27,339	1.2
Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.	35,766	58,258	2.6
Temporary tenure-holders.	4,006	13,350	.59

The rent-free holders as a class sublet their lands as far as possible. The average area per tenancy kept khas is less than half an acre. The other classes of tenure-holders are descendants of cultivators and their style of living is that of well-to-do cultivators rather than that of a non-cultivating community. They consequently keep a certain amount of land in their khas possession.

105. Raiyati and under-raiyati holdings.—The following table shows the land held by the main classes of raiyats and under-raiyats and the percentage of the land area surveyed :—

Class of holding.	Number of holdings.	Total area in acres.	Percentage to total area surveyed within the estate.
Raiyats at fixed rents or rates.	19,015	57,208	2.5
Settled and occupancy raiyats.	766,645	1,805,689	81.5
Non-occupancy raiyats.	14,206	34,366	1.6
Under-raiyats with rights of occupancy.	33,532	32,604	1.5
Under-raiyats without rights of occupancy.	122,221	89,220	.4
Under-raiyats protected under section 48C of the Tenancy Act.	466,144	375,869	16.8

The vast majority of the holdings are held by settled and occupancy raiyats. The non-occupancy raiyats occur mostly in the char lands. The amount of subletting by raiyats is considerable, though there is reason to believe that the percentage is less now than it was a few

¹The percentages of tenure-holders and raiyats given in these subordinate tables do not total 100 as a few of the unimportant classes of tenants have not been included. Details of these will be found in the statistics of tenancies printed in Appendix III. It is also to be remembered that the under-raiyati area is included in the raiyati area.

years ago as many under-raiyati holdings have been surrendered or abandoned as a result of the uneconomic high rent.

106. Land held for public purposes.—45,415 acres are held for public purposes. This covers 2 per cent. of the land area and consists chiefly of public roads and land held by Government departments or other public bodies.

107. Water.—The total area of water which has been recorded as not available for cultivation is 158,361 acres or approximately 247 square miles. This includes 131 square miles recorded as "outside the record," that is to say,

comprising rivers of a greater average breadth than three chains. The principal rivers coming under this head were the Brahmaputra and the Tista, excluding the large char areas in the middle, the Dharla, the Sankosh, the Dudhkumar and the Karatoa. The balance consists of smaller rivers, khals and bils, principally the latter. The proportion of water is very large comprising 6·8 per cent. of the entire area.

108. Incidence of rent.—The incidence of rent for the different classes of raiyats and under-raiyats is shown thanawar:—

Serial No.	Name of thana.	Incidents of rent in rupees per acre					
		Mokarari raiyats.	Settled and occupancy raiyats.	Non-occupancy raiyats.	Under-raiyats with rights of occupancy.	Under-raiyats without right of occupancy.	Under-raiyats protected under section 48C.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1	Phulchhari ..	3 5 10	4 12 9	3 11 7	6 13 3	6 1 2	7 6 9
2	Gaibandha ..	2 3 5	3 7 4	4 8 8	5 14 0	7 15 5	6 14 0
3	Gobindaganj ..	1 7 9	2 2 3	1 9 7	..	5 10 1	5 8 4
4	Palasbari ..	1 13 6	2 6 4	4 0 5	..	6 9 2	6 1 7
5	Sadullapur ..	1 15 8	3 0 0	5 14 1	..	7 0 9	6 7 4
6	Saghata ..	1 10 7	2 11 2	4 10 1	6 9 2	7 8 0	6 12 3
7	Sundarganj ..	2 1 4	3 8 11	3 15 3	5 9 6	7 5 9	6 10 6
8	Bhurungamari ..	1 11 0	3 5 2	2 10 4	4 9 10	5 6 3	5 3 11
9	Chilmari ..	1 3 7	2 15 10	3 10 6	5 10 7	6 0 3	5 1 0
10	Phulbari ..	2 0 4	2 7 8	1 11 10	3 13 10	4 8 8	4 4 10
11	Kurigram ..	2 8 1	2 13 5	2 10 9	5 11 9	4 14 6	4 6 1
12	Lalmोनirhat ..	2 2 6	3 8 5	0 12 0	5 10 7	8 15 7	8 6 6
13	Nageswari ..	1 15 2	2 11 11	3 5 9	4 7 11	5 2 10	4 12 7
14	Rahumari ..	..	2 13 10	2 13 3	..	3 13 9	4 0 1
15	Ulipur ..	1 9 0	2 15 10	2 5 1	5 5 2	7 1 0	6 6 4
16	Nilphamari ..	2 4 6	3 6 0	6 4 1	9 4 4	10 0 0	10 2 3
17	Saidpur ..	2 6 0	3 8 3	6 4 6	8 4 4	11 10 10	10 12 9
18	Domar ..	2 8 0	3 5 2	3 15 11	9 0 7	9 10 6	9 2 2
19	Dimla ..	2 5 0	3 3 9	2 4 9	8 8 8	8 10 9	8 1 6
20	Jaldhaka ..	2 3 1	3 10 2	3 7 1	9 1 4	9 14 2	9 9 4
21	Kishoreganj ..	2 3 11	3 10 0	9 3 9	..	11 4 11	10 4 7
22	Badarganj ..	4 15 10	3 0 11	2 15 0	5 1 5	7 11 4	7 6 4
23	Gangaohara ..	2 1 1	3 3 9	3 11 0	6 13 1	9 2 4	8 11 3
24	Hatibandha ..	2 4 4	3 1 9	2 7 11	7 0 4	7 8 3	8 1 6
25	Kaliganj ..	0 3 9	3 14 3	3 8 11	8 2 10	9 5 9	9 0 3
26	Kaunia ..	2 8 4	3 12 9	3 6 2	..	8 15 0	8 3 2
27	Mithapukur ..	2 8 11	2 4 1	3 3 6	..	6 0 2	8 2 7
28	Pirgachha ..	1 10 6	3 1 3	4 6 6	..	7 0 10	6 6 3
29	Pirganj ..	2 15 2	2 15 11	2 3 4	..	6 0 5	6 1 8
30	Rangpur ..	2 4 6	3 0 6	3 1 8	4 5 7	7 10 9	6 14 1

The best index to the value of the lands is afforded by the incidence of the settled and occupancy raiyats. The lowest rents prevail in the south-western areas of old alluvium, the highest in the jute and tobacco areas. The discrepancy between the rents paid by raiyats and those paid by under-raiyats is very marked. It is also fairly clear that land in Saidpur of which the raiyati incidence is Rs. 3-8-3 cannot bear an economic rent of Rs. 10-12-9. The figures reflect the generally acknowledged fact that under-raiyati rents were fixed in the boom years preceding the slump; that the land cannot bear the rents under present conditions and that as a general rule these high rents, though nominally maintained are not, in fact, paid.

Chapter VIII—Relation of landlords and tenants.

109. Organisation of the Zamindary.

—A large number of the estates in the district are now managed by the Court of Wards and the administration has been standardised in conformity with the Government rules. Some of the bigger estates however still maintain their independence and their traditional system of management. The most remarkable feature is the absolute control vested in the sadar naib or chief manager. He has complete power over his own office and over the subordinate offices situated at convenient places within the zamindary. These subordinate officers are usually in charge of a naib and are entrusted with the collection from a *tahsil*, or subdivision of the zamindary. The *sadar naib* has a staff consisting generally of a *jama navis*, one record keeper, one *sumar navis* and one or two clerks. The subordinate naib has one clerk and a staff of *gomastahs* and *paiks* for village collection. Except for very important tenants, the collections are made at the subordinate tahsil offices. The tenant is expected to bring his rent to the office and if he fails to do this and *paiks* have to be sent for village collection, extra *abwabs* are realised to cover the expenses of the paik. When the rent is realised it is entered in the *amdani* or register of receipts and the receipt and counterfoil are written up. A corresponding entry is made in the

tauzi hissab. The tahsildar then submits these papers to the naib who forwards them to the sadar naib at the head office where the details are entered in the *rokar* or the register of receipts and expenditure. At the close of the agricultural year the counterfoils of the rent receipts, the *amdani* and the *tauzi hissab* are compared and entered in the *jama-wasil-baki* which is a summary of the financial position each jama for each year. In addition some of the bigger estates maintain a small permanent survey staff of one or two amins who also work as clerks. Where any large scale survey is undertaken they are supplemented by a temporary staff.

110. Zamindars' lack of interest.—

The power that has fallen into the hands of the naibs is a direct result of the failure of the landlords to exercise proper control. They seldom visit their estates and live either in Rangpur town or in Calcutta. An occasional ceremonial visit is made at the beginning of the collection season but the naib takes particular care that no real contact is established with the tenants. The result is that the landlords as a body are completely out of touch with the affairs of their estates and any attempt to elicit their opinion on matters of settlement policy was invariably met by a reference to the naib. The fundamental unsoundness of the system was demonstrated when agricultural prices slumped so badly in 1930-31. Hitherto on account of the generous terms of the decennial settlement and the prevalence of cash crops there had been no difficulty in paying land revenue and at the same time ensuring a comfortable margin of receipts which went to enrich the naib and his subordinates. No reserves however were built up and the lean years occasioned by the fall in collections and the restriction of credit have brought a large number of estates to the verge of bankruptcy. Even so, the present generation of zamindars has done little more than clamour for their estates to be taken under the Court of Wards or at least attached temporarily under section 99 of the Cess Act. There are welcome signs however that the younger generation is realising the serious predicament into which they have fallen. Several of them are beginning to take an active part in the administration of their property and one or two have taken advantage of the facilities provided by the

Court of Wards department to undergo a thorough training in survey, settlement and collectorate land revenue work.

111. **Realisation of abwabs.**—In a short report on the district compiled in 1871, Mr. Crawford of the Bengal Civil Service, reported that the cesses and abwabs most commonly realised were as follows :—

1. Mangan—Levied by zamindars on the marriage and death of members of their family.
2. Agamani—Levied by zamindars visiting their estates.
3. Annaprasan—Levied on the weaning of zamindars' children.
4. Sadhi Salami—Levied on the marriage of a zamindar.
5. Sadhankul—Levied on conception by the zamindars' wife.
6. Batta—Exchange on coin paid in as rent.
7. Narmana—Fee levied on excess land found in possession of the tenant.
8. Marcha—Levied by the zamindar when the child of a raiyat was married.
9. Izardari—Miscellaneous cess levied by the jotedar.

It is instructive to compare this list with the principal abwabs and illegal cesses found during the present operations.

1. Tahuri—Realisation costs (from annas 2 to annas 4 per rupee).
2. Barkandaz or Paikana—realised when rents are collected by paiks or barkandazes in the villages (from annas 8 to Re. 1 per jama).
3. Chhappa karach—Realised as printing costs of the rent receipt (6 pies per rent receipt).
4. Parbani—Realisation of live stock or produce during the pujas.
5. Punnyaha karach—Realisation at the ceremony when the collection season opens (annas 4 to 8 per head).

6. Mangan—Realisation* on the marriage of some one in the zamindars' family (not universal and is rapidly dying out).

7. Dispensary and school subscription—Annas 1 to annas 2, in the rupee.) •

8. Nazar—Realisation when the zamindar visits his cutcherry (annas 2 to annas 4 per head).

9. Illegal cess—The full amount of the road cess payable by the estate is always recovered from the tenant. Frequently an amount even in excess of this is recovered. •

The first five abwabs are exactions by the staff for their own benefit. Item No. 6 is not often realised now but when it is it goes to the zamindar. Item 8 is expended in entertaining the zamindar and item 9 is for the benefit of the estate. It is clear that abwabs are as common as ever but are becoming more and more the perquisites of the cutcherry staff, this is also reflected in the fact that whereas formerly they were connected with ceremonial occurrences in the family of the zamindars and were in conformity with "badshahi" traditions, they are now connected with the payment of rent and are unadulterated exactions. The zamindar however cannot disclaim responsibility as he pays his staff only a nominal wage on the tacit understanding that the balance will be found from the abwabs.¹ It is difficult to say how much per rupee is taken on the average as the exactions vary from estate to estate. The following account taken from an occupancy raiyati holding in Gaibandha subdivision, gives a fair picture of the normal state of affairs :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rent ..	36	12	0
Cess ..	4	9	6 (3.5-6 in excess).
Parbani ..	0	9	3 (equivalent in produce.)
Baje kharach ..	0	9	3
School subscription.	0	9	0
Tahuri ..	1	8	0
	44	9	0

¹Several cases were found where naibs in charge of large cutcherries received a salary of between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 per month.

Where a tenure-holder intervenes between a raiyat and a proprietor, and the proprietor exacts abwabs from the tenure-holder the tenure-holder in his turn exacts the amount, plus a small extra for himself from the raiyat below so that a raiyat holding under a tenure is generally in a worse position than a raiyat holding direct from the proprietor.

That the system is vicious and is also unsound from an economic standpoint is generally admitted, but as yet public opinion has not been sufficiently aroused to combat it with any show of success. Some progress in this direction has been made during the slump years from 1930 onwards. Economic conditions have rendered the full realisation of abwabs impossible and there are signs that many of the tenants will fight hard rather than resume payments. A change however in the law seems essential. Section 74 of the Tenancy Act renders abwabs illegal even if stipulated by contract. The same section renders the realisation of cess in excess of the amount fixed by section 41 (2) and (3) of the Cess Act illegal, with certain reservations as regards contracts registered before the Tenancy Amendment Act of 1929. The penal section (section 75) is wholly inadequate. The onus is laid on the tenant to institute a suit to recover the abwab plus a penalty. This entirely ignores the opportunities enjoyed by a landlords' agent of exerting indirect pressure on a tenant. In fact no tenant unless he possesses unusual courage and independence of mind would dare to file such a suit against his landlord. The solution seems to be to bring this section into line with section 58 and thus enable the Collector to take action on information received and deal with the matter by a summary enquiry. A few cases taken under section 58 by the Settlement Officer, for the non-delivery of rent receipts had an excellent effect. There is reason to suppose that if similar action could be taken by the Collector under section 75 equally good results would be felt.

Note.—The object aimed at in the above discussion has since been attained by the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1938.

112. Treatment of aboriginals.—The provisions of Chapter VIIA of the Tenancy Act were extended to Santhals

and Oraons of Rangpur by notification No. 8371 L.R. of the 10th of November 1919. The object of this chapter is to prevent the aboriginals alienating their lands without permission of the Collector and if, in spite of this, alienation does take place, to ensure that, as far as possible, the land is resettled with another aboriginal. The Collector is given wide powers to interfere in case the law is broken. It is a difficult chapter to administer for several reasons. Santhals were originally brought into the district to bring under cultivation waste and jungle areas where regular tenants refused to settle. Once the area was made cultivable they were ousted as a matter of course by the landlord and more advanced cultivators were settled on the land. The Santhals moved on to another tract of jungle or waste land. Being an illiterate people and not having the same attachment to the land as the resident cultivators, they accepted this treatment without complaint and as this happened only in the more inaccessible areas it seems never to have come to the notice of the authorities. During the course of settlement it became clear that many Santhals who had acquired occupancy rights had been forcibly ousted from their lands in the past. Action under Chapter VIIA however was barred in many cases by the fact that the new tenants had been in possession for twelve years. Some of the recent and more glaring cases were reported to the Collector for action. The worst was the case of the Bagdah Farm, Ltd., in thana Govindaganj. This was originally a private concern started in 1929. About 11,000 bighas of jungle land in mauzas Bagdah, Katabari and Naran-gabad were acquired at a very high rate of rent and an attempt was made to settle the lands with gentleman farmers, and cultivate by means of motor tractors on a large scale. The Santhals who were already established on these lands, many of them having acquired occupancy rights, were forcibly ejected from their holdings, their houses broken down, and their lands reploughed. The farm authorities apparently took settlement of the lands believing them to be free of all encumbrances; their action however cannot be justified on this score. A second enquiry was held by the Subdivisional Officer of Gaibandha and possession was restored.

113. **Transfer of lands from agriculturists to non-agriculturists.**—A question which frequently arose during the course of the proceedings was how far the holdings of the raiyats were passing into the hands of non-agricultural classes as a result of the economic depression. Consequently kanungos were required to maintain statistics of the area of land formerly held by cultivating classes now held by non-cultivating classes. They were also required to make general enquiries as to the nature of the transfers, their probable cause and their location. A form was accordingly kept for blocks A, B and C. This is given below:—

Thana.	Area in acres of lands transferred by agriculturists to non-agriculturists.	Total area of the thana in acres.	Percentage transferred.
Hatibandha ..	716	71,108	1
Kaliganj ..	491	106,772	·46
Lalmanirhat ..	488	84,015	·58
Bhurungamari ..	1,007	58,381	1·72
Ulipur ..	1,465	136,215	1
Kurigram ..	275	67,912	·40
Nageswari ..	1,694	110,000	1·54
Fulbari ..	378	32,125	1·17
Domar ..	92	61,984	·15
Dimla ..	1,204	81,252	1·48
Jaldhaka ..	496	80,538	·61
Nilphamari ..	884	86,705	1
Saidpur ..	184	30,064	·61
Chilmari ..	103	70,603	·14
Rahumari ..	109	63,416	·17
Kishoreganj ..	473	65,479	·72
Gangachara ..	35	52,412	·7
Badarganj (northern part).	187	73,408	·25
Rangpur (northern part).	468	59,421	·79
Kaunia ..	103	36,551	·28
Pirgachha ..	141	63,754	·22
Sundarganj ..	643	103,327	·62
Gaibandha ..	857	79,318	1·8
Phulchhari ..	263	77,600	·34
Saghata ..	759	56,527	1·34
Sadullapur (eastern portion).	428	16,640	2·57

The reports from the kanungos showed that in their opinion this alienation of land was gradually increasing especially in the neighbourhood of the towns and big *hats* where there were resident Sahas and Marwaris who carried on money-lending operations. Their tendency, when they acquired lands in satisfaction of their unpaid debts, was to sublet the lands or farm them by means of adhiars. The Sahas as a rule favoured the adhi system, the Marwaris and other money-lenders favoured subletting. The amount of transfer in the jute areas was increasing more rapidly than in other areas. The figures of course do not represent the total amount of land which had changed hands as a result of debt. Raiyat money-lenders are very numerous but they have been classed as agriculturists. A more specialised enquiry was held in a detached circle of C. block comprising portions of thanas Nageswari, Kurigram and Ulipur and the date of transfer in respect of 920 acres was obtained.

The result were—

Transferred before—	Acres.
1900	153
1901-1905	41
1906-1910	117
1911-1915	35
1916-1920	109
1921-1925	212
1926-1930	125
1930-1933	128

The increase in the amount of land transferred appears to date from the period of low prices immediately succeeding the war but no further appreciable increase is apparent after this. It is not safe however to generalise from enquiries relating to so small an area. For block D detailed enquiries were made as to the date of transfer, the area transferred, reasons for the transfer and the treatment of the land by the non-agriculturists.

Thana.	Area of thana in acres.	Area in acres transferred with date and reason for transfer.					Cash sale.		Fore-closed mortgage.	Private treaty.	Other.	Mode of disposal (in acres) by non-agriculturists.		
		Years from date of enquiry.					Rent sale.	Other sale.				Kept khas.	Cultivated by adhiars.	Sublet.
		Within 3.	Over 3 under 7.	Over 6 under 10.	Over 9 under 13.	Over 12.								
Mithapukur	127,412	90					33	25	10	22	..	19	44	27
			46				..	30	..	16	..	12	11	23
				56			3	10	2	41	..	20	30	6
					16		..	..	..	16	..	..	10	6
					225	8	73	20	122	2	24	92	109	
		433					44	138	32	217	2	75	187	171
Golbindaganj	113,772	177					31	13	50	75	8	74	54	49
			214				34	23	83	74	..	44	35	135
				161			18	7	16	120	..	26	40	95
					126		6	17	18	85	..	14	58	54
					1,079	29	88	22	935	5	143	296	640	
		1,757					118	148	189	1,289	13	301	483	973
Palasbari	47,216	70					18	11	..	41	..	9	28	33
			37				7	10	8	12	..	9	10	18
				70			15	39	..	10	..	5	8	57
					8		..	5	..	3	..	1	..	7
					104	20	13	..	71	..	10	17	77	
		289					60	78	8	143	..	34	63	192
Sadullapur (part)	42,960	44					10	15	3	16	..	20	10	14
			19				7	..	..	12	..	..	8	11
				7			..	..	3	4	..	2	3	2
					..		9	13	2	158	43	23	8	194
		295					26	28	8	190	43	45	29	221
Pirganj	101,646	63					15	12	6	23	7	20	31	12
			68				2	6	4	55	1	31	21	16
				33			..	..	..	25	8	20	13	..
					79		..	..	1	78	..	47	7	25
					146	18	..	2	88	38	69	51	26	
		389					35	18	13	269	54	187	123	79
Rangpur (part)	19,392	8					..	..	2	6	..	..	2	6
			6				4	..	2	..	..	2	..	4
				10			7	..	..	3	..	..	..	10
					9		..	4	..	5	..	..	..	9
					54	12	..	22	20	..	5	1	48	
		87					23	4	26	34	..	7	3	77
Badarganj (part)	32,826	1					..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
			40				..	3	..	37	..	6	31	3
				10			..	..	..	10	..	10	..	..
					32		20	..	..	12	..	9	8	15
					50	..	12	..	38	..	11	28	11	
		133					20	15	..	98	..	36	68	29

The figures bear out the general impression that whilst there has been some increase in transfers during the slump period, the increase is not serious. This is almost certainly due to the reluctance of mahajans generally to put a holding to sale under present conditions when an outside purchaser is unlikely to come forward and the only resort is to resettle the land with the same tenant. The difficulty of subletting is clear from the very much smaller percentage of the recent transfers that have been sublet, compared with the percentage of the older transfers sublet. The amount kept khas is higher than was commonly believed; it represents the land acquired by the mahajans living away from the towns, or lands made khas by the landlords.

114. No anti-landlord feeling.—In spite of the malpractices of the subordinate officers, there is no general anti-landlord feeling in the district. Relations have become strained between the Baharband and Gayabari jotedars and the Kasimbazar estate as a result of the attempts that were made to record the jotes as non-permanent. The feeling in Gayabari is particularly acute as the jotedars feel that they were persuaded to give up very valuable rights without anything in return. The same feeling prevails in the Patiladaha estate where it has come as an unpleasant shock to many that the khod jotes are mainly non-permanent tenures. The feeling here, however, is somewhat mitigated by the otherwise reasonable and sympathetic administration for which the estate has acquired an enviable reputation. In one or two other estates such as Dimla and Tajhat, the high rates of rent and the extensive abwabs realised have created some ill-feeling, but this is not general. There is however a very strong feeling against the landlords' agents and with the growth of the tenant organisation which has been a feature of the last two or three years, it is likely to translate itself into antagonism towards the landlords unless some radical reforms in the methods of estate administration are introduced. The fall in prices has resulted in strained relations between the big tenure-holders and their raiyats. These men have not the same facilities for enforcing rent collection as have the landlords and consequently they have been the worst sufferers from the reduced payments and

many of them have been reduced to a very serious financial plight. The relationship between raiyats and under-raiyats has always been rather an informal one in the past. On the one hand legal rights were not enforced and on the other, rent was paid ungrudgingly up to the economic limit. Even so, the legal rent for many of the under-raiyati holdings was far beyond the economic possibility of the land since much of the subletting dates from the period when jute prices were at their peak and land was hard to come by. As long as the fall in prices did not reduce them to a position in which they were unable to meet the dues of their landlords, the raiyats accommodated their own tenants by collecting less than the rent specified. When however they themselves were hard pressed from 1930 onwards they endeavoured to collect their full rent from the under-raiyats. It was an economic impossibility and the result was abandonment of holdings, a number of rent suits and general bitterness. This was so particularly in the jute areas and to a lesser extent in the tobacco areas. In the purely paddy areas and the sugarcane areas this strained feeling hardly exists at all. As a general conclusion it may be stated that the relationship between landlords and their tenants is good, save where it has been recently upset by specific causes, but that unless there is a radical change on the system of zamindari administration as at present practised, this amicable state is not likely to persist.

Chapter IX—Present operations.

A. Cadastral.

115. Inception.—The inception proposals with a detailed financial statement were forwarded by the Director of Land Records, Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division by letter No. T/19/5672, dated the 24th of June 1930, and forwarded by the Commissioner to the Revenue Department in letter No. 15 R.C.T., dated the 2nd of July 1930. The estimates need considerable modification as they were based on survey by ordinary and not by air survey methods. The original programme was to commence the traverse

of A block in 1927-28. This was abandoned owing to the unsatisfactory agrarian conditions in Malda which Government decided to take up first. The amended programme was to begin Rangpur in October 1930. The photographs were consequently taken that cold weather and the cadastral operations began in October 1931. No areas were proposed for omission and provision was made for the resettlement of land revenue in 8 square miles of Government and temporary settled private estates and for the diara resumption of the Tista.

116. Programme and performance.

—The original programme had to be considerably modified. High floods in the Brahmaputra made it impossible to take up the entire area proposed for A block. The eastern portions of thanas Nageswari, Kurigram and Ulipur and three halkas at the south-east had to be abandoned. In their place thanas Hatibandha and Kaliganj were included. During the second year Government orders were received that the Brahmaputra diara block was to be taken up along with block B. With the available staff this was not possible and so the entire area of B block was completed in khanapuri but only four circles comprising thanas Dimla, Domar, Jaldhaka, Nilphamari and Saidpur, were completed in bujharat. The diara block was also completed entirely in kistwar, khanapuri, and bujharat and the central char area was also attested leaving an asli strip on the west and a semi-asli strip in the east. This was done to avoid having to put diluvion lines in the sheets during the following season. Had staff been available the entire area would have been attested. In addition the small detached area to the south-east of A block was surveyed and A block proper was attested. During the third season B block was completed in bujharat and the entire area attested. The eastern strip of Nageswari, Kurigram and Ulipur originally omitted from A block and the main area of C block comprising part of Rangpur subdivision and the eastern portion of Gaibandha subdivision, were finished up to bujharat. In addition the remainder of the diara block (including the river area of C block) was attested. During the fourth season D block was cadastrally surveyed whilst C block proper and the detached

strip to the east of Nageswari, Kurigram and Ulipur and the three halkas to the south-east of A block were attested. During the fifth season D block was attested. Another important branch of the work, diara resumption, commenced in 1934 and continued *pari passu* with the regular survey.

117. Use of air survey methods.—

Up to the stage of bujharat the system of air survey used differed radically from the old method of survey on 16" traverse plots. The district was divided into four blocks A, B, C and D and each block was photographed from the air during the cold weather preceding the cadastral operations. The photographs were taken in longitudinal strips on a scale which worked out approximately at 6" = 1 mile. Each photograph overlapped the adjacent ones to the extent of 25 per cent. of the area, thus ensuring that there would be no gaps and at the same time leaving a common area which could be used for bringing the photographs to an identical scale. Sub-surveyors of the Bengal Traverse Party were then sent to the block with copies of the photographs and a strip index. In A block they ran traverse lines at intervals of five miles along the overlapping areas thus making traverse plots of approximately 25 square miles each. At the same time they measured four independent lines at the corners of each photograph using well marked field junctions as the starting and finishing points. In the other three blocks this system was modified; extra traverse lines were run dividing the area into plots of approximately 12½ square miles each and the photographic points were mosaiced on boards of a convenient size to facilitate the running of the traverse lines and the independent check lines. In A block connections were made to seven Great Trigonometrical Survey stations, in B block to four, in C block to seven whilst in D block none were found. The average error worked out to 4·83' per mile in A block, 3·34' per mile in B block, and 1·62' per mile in C block. In addition to this postpointing traverse on the photographs, the diara areas of the Brahmaputra and Tista rivers were traversed in the ordinary way as air survey was found unsuitable.

The photographs were then rectified and enlarged to a scale of 16" = 1 mile on the basis of the independent lines

measured by the Bengal Traverse Party, the actual traverse being used as a check on this. After rectification they were pasted on zinc sheets and made over to the cadastral amins for simultaneous kistwar and khanapuri. Before work was actually begun a further check in the accuracy of the scale of each photograph was made by the halka kanungo. Chain lines were run in each corner of the photograph from clearly marked field junctions and if the error found exceeded half a link, to a chain, i.e., $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the photograph was rejected and sent back for re-rectification on the basis of the measurements taken. As soon as the scale was passed as correct the amin proceeded to ink in the plot boundaries and khanapuri the fields, i.e., make the preliminary record of rights, at the same time. In areas where there was jungle or thick *basti* the field boundaries had to be plotted. This seldom, however, involved complete internal survey as the necessary points could usually be obtained by taking offsets from a convenient chain line running from points outside the indistinct area. The object of the survey was to obtain maps of the different villages. Unfortunately the photographs never coincided with the villages which were generally spread over three or four photographs. The detached fragments were thus traced piecemeal and congregated on sheets of celluloid or kodotrace and reproduced on paper by the vandyke process. Two methods were employed in the field. In blocks A and B each amin was allotted one mauza which he surveyed and khanapuried himself, obtaining each photograph in turn and working on it until he had completed as much of the mauza as it contained. This was known as the mauzawar system. In blocks C and D the amins surveyed by photographs maintaining separate sets of records for each portion of each village. This was known as the photowar system. On the whole the mauzawar system proved the more satisfactory of the two. There was a certain amount of delay resulting from the repeated exchange of photographs. An amin might have to wait for a day or two because the remaining photographs of his village were all in use, but with experience

good kanungos and Circle Officers were able to reduce this period considerably. The disadvantage of the photowar system was the confusion it created in the records. The same jama might be opened by four or five different amins and a detailed rearrangement of the records was found necessary between khanapuri and bujharat. The serial numbers of the plots were also broken as gaps had to be left between the numbers estimated for the plots on each photograph. In large villages this meant that the plot numbers ran into four or five figures which made the printing of small plots difficult.

As air survey was still in its infancy when the operations were begun it will be convenient here to enumerate some of the difficulties encountered and the advantages it was found to possess over the older methods. The weakest point in the system is the tracing. The congregation of four or five fragments of a mauza on a celluloid or kodotrace is a difficult business. The slightest error in orientation creates wholesale distortion of the mauza boundary which is not discovered until boundary check at a later stage. The tracing was done in halka camps and the rules were that the halka kanungo was to supervise the fixing of all celluloids on the photographs as the tracers employed were temporary and not highly skilled. There can be no doubt that this part of the work was done badly due chiefly to the shortage of kanungos and the abnormally heavy inspection duties consequent thereon. The result was that a lot of retracing had to be done at later stages. An attempt was made to eliminate the tracing by fixing sheets of kodotrace on the photographs, surveying on these and subsequently detaching them and mosaicing them into integral mauzas. An area of 10.3 square miles in thanas Pirgachha and Kaunia was selected for trial. The experiment failed for two reasons. In the hot weather the kodotrace contracted slightly whilst the zinc plate, if anything, expanded, resulting in distortion. Also on constant exposure to the sun the kodotrace developed a slight opacity which made it difficult to distinguish clearly the photographic details beneath. The only non-technical solution of the problem seems to be to centralise the tracing at circle headquarters and have a competent circle kanungo in full time

¹Kodotrace is a transparent substance the thickness of paper but much stronger. It is easier to handle than celluloid and being much thinner makes a more accurate trace.

supervising charge.¹ Certain technical defects in the preparation of the photographs also came to light. Whatever method of rectification is adopted some small error is bound to creep in. By rectifying on the basis of independent lines the error on each photograph, or each group of photographs rectified together, may be within admissible limits, but one group may have a plus error and the adjacent group a minus error which, though individually passable, when taken together are inadmissible. The solution for this has since been found to be rectification on the basis of the traverse lines run one mile apart².

The amins who had spent most of their lives working the old system quickly adapted themselves to the new methods. At first they showed a tendency to do unnecessary kistwar. This was partly due to the piece work rates of pay which put a premium on kistwar and partly to their innate conservatism which distrusted so complete a break with the past.

The following table gives a summary of the position.

some of the areas were far below standard. The overlap was almost nil, the *ails* were indistinct and the scale was wrong. Re-rectification failed to put this right and the areas had to be traversed and surveyed on P. 70 sheets. In D block adjacent photos with plus and minus errors were re-rectified. This accounts for the large number sent back. In other blocks such errors were not sent for re-rectification. None of the river and sand areas could be surveyed by photograph as there were no fixed points from which to start. The area given in column 5 does not include the area covered by rejected photographs.

The advantages of the photographic method lie in its speed and accuracy. kistwar and khanapuri are done simultaneously instead of one after the other and, as a result, bujharat begins far earlier with a consequent saving in time and money. Much time is also saved in the preliminaries. With a photograph showing the salient features of the village, the amin has no difficulty in identifying fields rapidly whilst progressive mistakes which previously

Cadastral Blocks, 1931-35.

Block No.	Total number of photos received from the Air Survey Co.	Total number of photos sent to the Air Survey Co. for re-rectification.	Total area surveyed by air survey in square miles.	Total area surveyed by P. 70 (outside photographic area) in square miles.	Total area of the blocks in square miles.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A block, 1931-32 ..	1,264	5	709·20	104·25	813·45	Two photos were found wrong after re-rectification. The area was surveyed by the ordinary method.
B block, 1932-33 ..	1,040	Nil	975·21	320·94	1,296·15	....
C block, 1933-34 ..	872	17	621·11	137·52	758·63	The re-rectified photos were found incorrect. The area was surveyed by the ordinary method.
D block, 1934-35 ..	1,139	32	757·29	·36	757·65	One photo was sent twice to the Air Survey Co. for re-rectification.
Total ..	4,315	54	3,062·81	563·07	3,625·88	

N. B.—The total of column 6 includes the area (2·09 square miles) surveyed in the adjoining districts of Mymensingh and Jalpaiguri.

The greatest difficulties were met with in block C. The photographs in

were apt to arise through the wrong joining of field corners are no longer possible. An estimate has been made of the cost of surveying the A block photographic area by P. 70 methods and compared with the costs actually incurred.

¹This system has since been adopted in the Dinajpur Settlement and appears to be working satisfactorily though the drain on the kanungos is heavy.

²Adopted for blocks C & D Dinajpur.

Comparative statement showing the cost rate by ordinary method and air survey method.

Branch of work.	Programme in square miles.	Establishment.												Total amount.	Rate per square mile.
		Salaries.		Kanungos.		Surveyors and clerks.		Menials.		Travelling allowance.		Leave and pension contribution.			
		Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.	Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.	Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.	Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.	Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.	Amount.	Rate per sq. mile.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
Calculation of cost by ordinary method (approximate):--															
Cadastral ..	813	3,875	..	32,750	..	65,660	..	1,952	..	3,957	..	930	..	1,09,024	134
Khanapuri ..	813	2,250	..	20,300	..	24,360	..	1,130	..	2,125	..	540	..	50,705	62
Bujharat ..	813	6,025	..	57,450	..	12,230	..	6,368	..	4,958	..	1,590	..	89,211	110
Initial Recess ..	813	..	..	..	..	18,990	..	419	..	..	..	..	..	19,409	24
Supervision ..	813	14,923	..	5,114	..	3,023	..	2,727	..	10,763	..	5,993	..	42,458	52
Traverse ..	813	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	109
															491
Calculation by air survey and a portion by ordinary method (actual):--															
Cadastral ..	813	928	..	12,214	..	87,489	..	2,361	..	1,863	..	296	..	1,05,152	129
Khanapuri ..	813	1,906	..	24,419	..	28,827	..	3,635	..	3,678	..	606	..	63,071	78
Bujharat ..	813	4,954	..	40,907	..	16,478	..	7,910	..	7,916	..	1,529	..	79,784	98
Initial Recess ..	813	..	..	..	..	18,990	..	419	..	..	..	..	..	19,409	24
Supervision ..	813	14,923	..	5,114	..	3,023	..	2,727	..	9,563	..	5,993	..	41,343	51
Traverse ..	813	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54,559	67
Preliminary map reproduction	703	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,824	..
Additional cost in contingencies	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
															3
															454

Summary of cost rate in rupees per Sq. mile.

Branch of work.	By air survey method.	By ordinary method.
Traverse ..	67	109
Cadastral ..	129	134
Preliminary map reproduction ..	..	..
Khanapuri ..	78	62
Initial recess ..	24	24
Bujharat ..	98	110
Supervision ..	51	52
Additional cost in contingencies ..	3	..
	454	491

118. **Shortage of kanungos and employment of sardar amins.**—An unsatisfactory feature of the field work was the consistent shortage of trained kanungos. This was due firstly to the fact that there had been no recruitment to the cadre since 1921 and the yearly reduction due to death and retirement was considerable, secondly to the unavoidable changes in the programme and thirdly to the demand for staff from Dinajpur during the D block cadastral

season. The result was that the permanent staff was never sufficiently numerous to carry through the bujharat programme and sardar amins had to be employed each season. These men were recruited for the purpose from the ranks of the khanapuri amins. Though conversant with the ordinary rules of procedure their standard of education and efficiency was far below that of the kanungos. Consequently, not only was their outturn lower, a standard of 3,000

plots per month was fixed as against 3,600 for the kanungos, but their work had to be inspected frequently and thoroughly and for this purpose five sardar amins were placed in the charge of one kanungo. Although, due to their low salary, this system shows a financial saving on paper it is not really economical, nor is it satisfactory from other points of view. The most stringent inspection cannot ensure the complete absence of mistakes and these mistakes have to be corrected at attestation with a corresponding waste of time. Also, complaints from the tenants against the sardar amins were frequent and the investigation of these occupied a great deal of time. The sardar amins were taken in gradually as the khanapuri was finished. The total number employed in block A was 30, in block B 30, in block C 35 and in block D 45. Even with this help, which was limited by the number of amins found capable of doing bujharat, the standard outturn of the kanungos had to be increased, in blocks B and C, from 3,600 plots per month to 4,000 per month. This put a tremendous strain on them and it is to their credit that they responded without grumbling. The additional strain was also felt during khanapuri. A kanungo is normally expected to hold charge of halka with an area of between 11 and 12 square miles and to supervise 7 or 8 amins. With the staff available this remained an ideal to be aimed at but never attained. The halkas averaged between 15 to 18 square miles each and seldom employed less than 13 and 14 amins.

119. Ignorance of the tenants.—At the outset the tenants showed a good deal of apathy towards the proceedings. In A block many summonses had to be issued and a few fines inflicted. Once the nature of the operations was realised there was willing co-operation and in blocks B, C and D attendance in the field was excellent. The difficulty lay rather in the appalling ignorance displayed by tenants and landlords' agents alike of the whereabouts of their different holdings. Many tenants were found in possession of two or three jamas consisting of scattered fields. But as to which fields appertained to which jama, they were often unable to say. The landlords' agents, except where they had maps or reliable chittas, were in an even worse plight. Their *tauzi*, *hissabs* showed three jamas and

that was all. Where sales had been made through the civil court confusion was worse confounded. In the majority of the cases no attempt had been made to identify the lands actually sold and possession appeared to have been given at the bidding of the local dewanias who thereby found a ready means of advancing local quarrels and intrigues. These difficulties were general except in the big estates. They were most prevalent in B block and especially noticeable in the town of Mahiganj (D block).

120. Paucity of the landlords' staff.

—A further difficulty was experienced on account of the shortage of landlords' agents. The photowar system of survey is exacting in this respect as two or three amins may possibly be working in the same village. Thus mistakes made at khanapuri, due to lack of information, added to the work of the bujharat kanungo. Apart from this the financial condition of many of the smaller estates made it difficult for them to maintain an adequate staff and the kanungo was often left with only the version of the tenants on which to rely. It is almost certain that some rearrangement of the jamas took place, and in the absence of any papers or any reliable evidence this was inevitable. The kanungos however were instructed to scrutinise all such cases carefully to ensure that the tenants did not take undue advantage of the position by increasing the area of low rental jamas at the expense of those bearing a higher rent.

121. Unit of survey.—The size of the revenue survey mauzas varied considerably and many of them were too large or too small to remain as convenient units of survey. A preliminary list of amalgamations and subdivisions of mauzas was prepared in the drawing office before the field season. The criterion was that no mauza should exceed 2,500 acres or be less than 100 acres. These proposals were modified if necessary after enquiry by the field staff and hearing local objections. Very few objections were filed and where they were it was generally by landlords who were afraid that the proposals involved an alteration of estate boundaries. All were withdrawn when the changes were explained. In some cases amalgamations involved changes in Union Board jurisdiction in which case more than the formal

approval of the Collector was necessary as he had to consult and obtain the opinion of the local bodies as well as to consider the effects of the change from an administrative point of view. The result was that in some cases twelve months or more elapsed before a reply was received. Meanwhile the maps were perforce prepared according to the new unit of survey. Generally approval was accorded to the changes but in one or two cases they were found administratively inconvenient and the maps and records had to be changed at considerable trouble and expense. The delay arose principally in obtaining the opinion of the local bodies. The procedure is unnecessarily cumbrous and the necessity of consulting the local bodies seems doubtful where no objections are filed by the landlords or tenants concerned, or where such objections are voluntarily withdrawn after the true implications of the changes are understood. 872 villages were amalgamated and 213 were split up. The villages in the extreme north of the district were large, having apparently been jungly and sparsely inhabited at the time of revenue survey. Elsewhere they were unusually small.

Many cases of wrong jurisdiction were discovered. This was due to the inaccurate marking of the Collectorate map, to the movement of the rivers and the fact that notified alterations in the thana boundaries were not always observed. Lists were sent to the Collector or the Superintendent of Police and the mistakes rectified during the bujharat season.

122. Local measurements.—Measurements under the old Acts were made with a standard *laggi* or pole. Under the Tenancy Act they are recorded in acres but if the rights of the parties are regulated by any other measure, these are to be recorded also. The Board of Revenue has ruled that "the standard of measurement or *laggi* recorded in the Collectorate for the pargana or other local division in which the lands are situated shall be taken as the local standard of measurement under section 92 (1) of the Tenancy Act, unless another standard is set up by either of the parties in which case the Settlement Officer will, after enquiry, decide what standard to adopt¹. If no standard is

recorded in the Collectorate the Settlement Officer must by enquiry satisfy himself as to the local standard in use". This enquiry is held during *khanapuri* by the *kanungos* and is entered into the preliminary *parchas* during recess. Owing to the frequency with which the *laggi* is shortened in order to show excess area and assess additional rent for this excess, some of the disputes as to its length were fought very keenly. They were not, however, allowed to be reopened at a later stage as, apart from being of assistance to attestation officers for the purpose of deciding whether or not there had been an illegal enhancement, the *nal* memos were not of any practical value. They do not form part of the record and presumably are not admissible in evidence in civil litigation. Nor are the local areas printed in the finally published record-of-rights. In fact with the final publication in which rents are shown as assessed on a fixed standard measurement, the importance of the local measurements apart from their historical interest practically disappears, except where cases are fought in which it is sought to prove that the record-of-rights is incorrect.

123. Use of previous zamindari surveys.—Some assistance in the identification of the *jamias* was derived from the various zamindari surveys. In many cases no maps were prepared and where they were prepared many of them were found very inaccurate. Of the big estates the *Kakina* maps were the best. They were corroborated by accurate *chittas* and were of the greatest assistance to the field staff. *Dimla* estate also prepared a number of maps after their estate survey of 1310 B.S. These however were unreliable as they included land which did not belong to the estate. Of the big diara estates *Kasimbazar* and *Patiladaha* had both prepared maps at various times. The *Kasimbazar* jote maps were found useful in places but as a general rule changes had been so extensive that their relay was impossible. *Patiladaha* made an *ekandaj* survey in 1274 B.S. As this was in the diara area the changes since that date had rendered it useless. Up to the beginning of the operations the policy of the estate was to survey various *chars* by prismatic compass at the time settlements were made. Some of the later maps were of help. Almost all the big estates had made *chitta* surveys at one time or another. In some cases they

¹Standard pargana measurements are given in Appendix VIII.

made a jamabandi on the basis of this. Again a large number of these were found unreliable particularly in the case of Dimla, Manthana, Tajhat, Tepa and Bardhankuthi. The case of the Kasimbazar chittas of 1275-88 is characteristic. In these chittas all the rent-free lands were included in the khas lands of the estate. No jamabandi was generally accepted on the basis of this, though some tenants did accept it. The majority of the jotedars however claimed that there was a previous chitta survey in possession of the estate in which the rent-free lands were properly recorded and in support of their contention they showed various pattas which contained references to it. It was never produced and consequently the later chitta was of very little help. The chittas could only be used as a guide and were in no sense binding on the tenants except where a jamabandi had been accepted. In cultivated areas however they were found very useful as representing the landlord's claim. In uncultivated areas they were of little help.

124. Use of official maps.—The official maps already in existence were (1) thakbast survey, (2) revenue survey, (3) various partition maps, (4) petty settlement maps. The thaks of the asli portions of the district are good. They were prepared according to the revised rules issued in 1851 and show all the chaks of independent mahals including, in most cases, the concealed rent-free tenures found during the survey and referred for investigation to the Collector. The periphery rarely closes which is a sign that they have been made by careful magnetic bearings and plotted with a reasonable degree of accuracy¹. They are generally on a scale of 16" = 1 mile but sometimes of 8" = 1 mile. Thak comparison was thus made a regular feature of the work and the tauzi was determined by the chak unless it was disproved by valid documentary evidence or by acts of possession. Except for a few areas such as the Kundi pargana, where there were innumerable petty lakheraj lands, the chaks agreed very well with present possession and in many cases where possession was indeterminate their relay was thankfully accepted by

contending zamindars. They were also found very useful at the beginning of khanapuri for determining the rough position of the village boundary. The amin, who had no traverse pegs to guide him, would have had to spend a long time in ascertaining the general run of the boundary by enquiry. He therefore relaid the thak boundary roughly on the photograph, put in the approximate boundary by a dotted line and corrected it if necessary when doing khanapuri of the plot along which it ran. The thak chak comparison was done at bujharat. The thaks of the diara area were of little use as they could not be accurately relaid. The revenue survey maps were only referred to when an accurate relay was required, as in the case of boundary disputes between adjacent mauzas. Partition maps were used to determine boundaries between the estates which were parties to the partition. Some of the maps were very badly made and almost invariably rent-free lands were included in the khas lands of one of the new estates. Some of the early partitions, as for instance that of Udashi pargana, were made without maps and their relay was found impossible. The petty settlement maps were easily relayable and were very useful throughout the Panga estate.

125. Bujharat delays.—In comparison with other districts there were very few natural impediments to progress. The bil areas in the north-east the centre and the south of the district, caused some difficulty. With few exceptions the bils of Rangpur are very shallow and dry up to a surprising extent in the months of March, April and May. As a result a very large proportion of the area which is under water at the time of khanapuri is sublet as land. This area had to be kistwarred after the khanapuri was finished and a special staff of badaramins was kept for this work. The kistwar and khanapuri was done in April or May just before the kanungo took up bujharat of the mauza. A more serious cause of delay was experienced in D block. After the tracing is complete the traces are sent to the Bengal Drawing Office for vandyke reproduction. This introduces a time lag between khanapuri and bujharat which in blocks A, B and C worked out at about a month. To deal with this the programme is so arranged that the khanapuri of small mauzas is completed first and the traces sent immediately to

¹Rule 5 states "Some error in closing the circuits will be inevitable; it is better that the error should be distinctly shown on the Thakbast map than that the work should be forced to close". Thaks in which the circuit invariably closes should thus be looked upon with suspicion.

Calcutta so that by the time khanapuri is drawing to a close, sheets are coming in from Calcutta and work can be taken up at once. Unfortunately the khanapuri of D block coincided with the khanapuri of A block, Dinajpur. As a result the Bengal Drawing Office was unable to supply sheets in less than 8 or 9 weeks. The delay in the programme consequent in this was considerable and partly accounts for the large number of sardaramins which were employed later on that season.

126. Survey of the Brahmaputra.—

The object of expediting the survey of the Brahmaputra was to enable diara resumption proceedings to begin as early as possible. For this reason only the five northern thanas, Nageswari, Kuri-gram, Ulipur, Chilmari and Rahumari were included in the first diara block, resumption south of this being barred by the decisions arrived at during the Mymensingh survey. The other three thanas, Gaibandha, Phulchhari and Saghata were surveyed along with C block. The start was inauspicious. Air survey was not possible as there were no permanent land marks on the chars and so the area was traversed. The 16" traverse plots, however, which had been promised early in December began to arrive in dribbles during January. Most of the sheets were not received until February, the last batch of 100 being received in February 26th. Thus a clear month and a half was lost. Further complications ensued when the photographs of the eastern asli area, which arrived two months late, were scrutinised, and it was found not only that the photos of the area round the river Jinjhiram were indistinct but that a gap had been left between the western strip of the eastern asli photos and the easternmost traverse line. Both these detached portions were hurriedly traversed by the Technical Adviser. Yet a third omission was discovered a little later. This was three square miles of char Juania which had been left out by the Mymensingh party.

127. Difficulty of surveying char lands.—The survey thus became a fight against time and climatic conditions. The rise of the river begins in May, but is not serious until June. It was thus essential to complete the bujharat, at least of the low-lying areas, by the end

of May. This was done with great difficulty. May is a month of intense heat and blinding sandstorms which render field work most unpleasant and occasionally impossible. I have myself crouched for many hours under the exiguous shelter of a tamarisk bush, unable to see more than a yard or two in any direction, waiting for the fury of the storm to abate. To add to these climatic difficulties was the problem of communication. The river throughout these five thanas is many miles broad and composed of a wilderness of sandy chars some of them large and inhabited and some of them small, bare and wind-swept, intersected by innumerable branches of the river. The amins found it impossible to live on the spot and very difficult to hire boats to carry them from one char to another. Much time was lost in consequence in moving about and in fact, without the co-operation of the char dwellers, who were keenly interested in the record of rights, the programme would have been in great danger of going unfinished. The Circle Officers lived practically in their boats. In no other way was supervision possible. Fortunately the plots were unusually large and this, to some extent, compensated for the many snags which cropped up unexpectedly. The first of these was the plotting of the mauza boundaries. In some areas there was not a single landmark to be seen and the only course was to relay the revenue survey boundaries as accurately as possible from the 4" circle muzmili maps. These were later corrected from the diara comparative map and the excess areas glassed off into their correct sheets. In addition there were a number of keenly fought disputes over possession. Ignorance of the boundaries was by no means confined to the settlement staff and the wildest and most improbable claims were advanced by the landlords themselves. The absence of permanent *aiks* on the cultivable chars was an added complication. The plots were usually a series of long narrow rectangles demarcated by stakes on the ground. On more than one occasion the bujharat kanungo arrived in a cultivated area to find a series of plots which had been mapped by the amin as running from east to west, now ploughed from north to south and in the possession of a rival body of tenants. A strong right arm more often than not determines possession in these isolated areas. Even more difficult to deal with were

the disputes between the powerful zamindars.

128. Bhitarband-Gauripur disputes.

—In the year 1883 a long period of litigation between the rival estates of Gauripur (Tauzi No. 2 of Goalpara, Assam) and Bhitarband (Tauzi No. 204 of Rangpur) was brought to a close by a High Court decree which laid down a decretal line, known as the B. B. Z. Z. line, to mark the inter-estate boundary. The line followed what was then a small streamlet meandering through the sandy chars. Before long the area was diluviated. Then in 1915-1919 Bhitarband estate was partitioned. The partition line extended up to the easternmost limit of the land which at that time was some distance west of the B. B. Z. Z. line. A few years before the settlement operations this water area between the partition line and the decretal line reformed and immediately became the subject of another dispute the Gauripur estate claiming as far west as the partition line on the ground that Bhitarband could not claim beyond its own estate partition and Bhitarband claiming up to the High Court decretal line. Further to consolidate their position both estates established tenants on the land by *amalgama* leases. Four *mauzas* were involved; Kacha bacha Jehajher Alga, Mekhurer Alga, Majher Alga and Char Durgapur. To add to the confusion the first named *mauza* was attached under section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code by courts both at Dhubri (Assam) and Kurigram (Rangpur) though it was actually well within the Rangpur border. The boundary was finally fixed by the Settlement Officer as the decretal line and his order was upheld on appeal by the Director of Land Records. No sooner had this been settled than a quarrel arose between the various parties to the Bhitarband partition as to who should possess the reformed lands. As the reformation was recent such possession as was found could not operate as dispossession of any other proprietary right. Each party to the partition claimed that the area under water had been allotted to him. The claim was absurd; no allotment of such lands had been made and it was eventually decided that areas which were not accretions from the public domain, that is to say areas which had been previously assessed to revenue, subsequently diluviated and were now reformed, were possessed according to the pre-partition

shares, whilst accretions from the public domain, which were liable to assessment of land revenue, belonged to the estates to which they had accreted in accordance with the diara laws.

129. Baharband-Karaibari dispute.

—The dispute between these estates concerned the boundary which approximately tallied with the district boundary. Until 1919 Baharband had been gradually encroaching on Karaibari as the river Jinjhiram receded towards the east. In that year there was a survey at the instance of both estates and a compromise line was laid down and demarcated on the ground by pillars. This involved an exchange of territory and lists of tenants and holdings were drawn up, the arrangement being that they should be allowed abatement of rent for the area transferred and the landlord transferee would grant a settlement for the transferred portion at the abated rent. In spite of this agreement *salami* was demanded for the new settlements and in some cases was paid albeit under protest. Over and above this, further encroachments were made by Baharband beyond the compromise line thus further complicating the position of the under-tenants. The demands on the time and patience of the Circle Officer, to unravel this tangle, were considerable.

130. Maps not a solution of the char disputes.—Disputes such as these were numerous and arose not so much from a deliberate attempt of one estate to wrest lands from another as from ignorance as to where the estate boundaries really lay. No permanent demarcation is possible and when a char reforms the first instinct of any estate in the vicinity is to grab it in case it happens to be a reformation in situ of some of their own land. To establish possession they must lodge tenants on the land. Hence the hasty issue of *amalgamas*. Having gone so far the temptation to continue the fight, even if the title is doubtful, is irresistible and it is easy for an unscrupulous or ignorant *amin* to compile a plausible comparative map that bolsters up the case of his own estate. The production of an accurate settlement map does not really help the position as it is at present. In four or five years the channels of the river will have changed to such an extent that visual relay of the maps will not be possible, whilst the zamindars' *amins* have not got the technical skill to make any other sort of relay.

131. Annual relay necessary.—The failure of the Alluvial Disputes Act to deal with the problem was noticed in the Settlement Report of Pabna and Bogra. The failure has been no less marked in Rangpur. The real weakness of all the legal procedure at present available is that disputes are allowed to develop before action is taken. The Collector is empowered under Parts III and V of the Survey Act to erect boundary marks at the cost of the estates concerned. The Settlement Department has provided an accurate map which can be utilised for relay purposes by a skilled agency. The only difficulty is the lack of permanent points between either bank of the river. A possible solution suggests itself on the use of limited number of large anchored buoys which should serve as floating boundary marks when the area was diluviated and would remain on the surface of any char that formed. As the estates in the diara area are few these buoys might be placed in suitable positions near the boundary where they would serve as fixed points for annual demarcation by temporary marks by a trained kanungo. A new char forming near the boundary of two estates would thus be demarcated in the normal way before it became sufficiently prominent to attract settlers. The expense would be considerable but certainly not more than is now expended each year on unproductive litigation.

B. Attestation.

132. Progress.—The progress of attestation was satisfactory throughout. The record was comparatively simple, the attendance at the camps was good and number of complicated disputes was few. There were three problems which caused some dislocation. The most important was the problem of the Baharband and Gayabari jotedars. Until this question was settled and general orders issued, the interests were attested without status. Towards the end of the season special officers were deputed to complete the record. The second problem occurred in those diara areas where attestation could not be done during the same season as bujharat. There were innumerable badar petitions and much time was wasted in correcting the map. The

third problem was the recording of partial kharij in thanas Palasbari and Gobindaganj. The rules had to be hurriedly modified and a special officer deputed to revise the record.

133. Illegal enhancements.—Cases of illegal enhancement of raiyats' rent were very common. Where these contravened section 29 of the Tenancy Act the enhancement was cut down in toto. Almost all the big estates had made illegal enhancements at one time or another. In B block the landlords were successful in preventing many of their tenants from producing their old rent receipts, though from the earlier attested khatians it was obvious that the enhancements were general throughout the estate. They were able to do this by the threat of instituting rent suits on a large scale for the arrears which were usually very heavy. One very common method of obtaining illegal enhancements was for the landlord to take a kabuliyat from the tenant admitting excess area. This excess was very frequently fictitious. In one of the big estates of A block an enhancement was made in 1314 B.S. and in some cases kabuliyats were taken admitting excess area after the survey which took place two years later. Another case in police-station Jaldhaka was noted in which the kabuliyats admitting excess area were taken 10 years after the enhancement had been enforced. Another even more glaring case was found in the same thana where an estate had made an enhancement in 1321 B.S. of annas 5 in the rupee. The usual kabuliyats were taken admitting excess area, but whatever the amount of excess area admitted, the flat rate of the enhancement varied not at all. Another common class of case was when enhancements were enforced on the plea of excess area at the first survey of the estate. This occurred in police-station Saghata where a petty settlement was made of a few mauzas in 1893. This was followed by a jamabandi in which an enhancement of 4 annas in the rupee was made on the ground of excess area, 2 annas being kept in abeyance as *hajat* rent. As there was no survey or measurement of the mauzas before 1893, the plea of additional area was clearly fictitious. The last method, and one which was used very commonly by the big tenureholders, was to shorten the length of the *nal* by which the measurement was made, during the survey in which the excess

areas were discovered. Thus one bigha by the earlier measurement, became a bigha and a third by the later measurement and the additional one-third was assessed to rent. This system seems to have been contemplated though apparently never enforced, in the Kasimbazar estate where in the kabuliyats of 1260 B.S. the tenants bound themselves by contract to accept future measurements by the new *paia rasi* in place of the pargana *khod rasi*. Fortunately section 52 of the Tenancy Act gives reasonably complete protection against this type of fraud and unless a landlord can justify his kabuliyat under the amended sub-section 6, the enhancements can be cut down as they were in the cases quoted above.

134. Bardhankuthi cases.—A group of cases which occurred in the Bardhankuthi Wards Estate were more difficult to decide. The raiyati rents had been enhanced beyond the legal limit in 1886, just after the Tenancy Act was passed. The landlords contended that the tenants must first prove that they were occupancy raiyats at the time the enhancement was made and that section 20(1) did not apply to cases under section 29. The ruling of the High Court relied on was 14 C.W.N. 470 which however referred to char lands governed by section 180(1). The contention of the estate was not allowed, and the tenants were given the benefit of the statutory presumption under section 20(1). The law however is not at all clear on the point: If in fact the contention of the estate is legally correct the position of tenants seeking to prove an illegal enhancement in the past will be very difficult indeed as the exchange of kabuliyats and pattas for small holdings is a comparatively recent innovation.

135. Cases under section 109C of the Tenancy Act.—Although illegal enhancements were very frequent, in many cases the rate was reasonable and the tenants had been paying the rent without objection over a long period of years. Under such circumstances the parties were encouraged to compromise under section 109C. Altogether 132 cases were allowed and these covered a large number of tenancies as one case was allowed for any number of tenants under one landlord or group of landlords. Two of the important enhancement

cases treated under this section were the enhancements of annas 6 per rupee made by the Kakina estate in 1314 B.S. and the enhancements of annas 4-6 per rupee made by the Tushbandar estate in 1323-25 B.S. The estates promised that if the compromise rents were recorded they would not sue for settlement of fair rent under section 105. This was agreed to by the tenants and as the rents were reasonable they were recorded. In spite of the agreement both the estates filed a large number of cases under section 105 on the pretext that an increase in area had been discovered, and some of the tenants were induced to execute kabuliyats to that effect. The matter was brought to the notice of the Collector and the cases were ultimately either withdrawn, or the fair rent settled at the amount already recorded on the record of rights.

136. Problem of status.—Problem of status arising in the big parganas were dealt with as special cases and have been discussed in Chapter VII. The same question arose in a less acute form in the smaller estates. The terms "jotedar" and "chukanidar" which were in universal use have no legal connotation whatsoever under the Tenancy Act. Moreover both jotes and chukanis were, in practice, freely transferred and freely inherited. Kabuliyats and pattas executed at the inception of the tenancy were rarely found and in many cases the status had to be arrived at either by the presumption under section 5(5) when the area exceeded 100 standard bighas or by a general enquiry into the mode of living of the occupant. In some cases it was found that even chukanidars had to be recorded as tenure-holders.

137. Petty settlement records.—In this respect the finally published records of the Panga settlement were a hindrance rather than a help. The estate was surveyed on the joint application of the landlords, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and Lakshi Priya Debi, from 1903 to 1907. It was done under Chapter X of the Tenancy Act and consequently the presumption of correctness under section 103B applied. Before the re-attestation had proceeded far, it was quite clear that many serious errors had been made in classifying the tenants. 74 per cent. of them were recorded as tenure-holders and the

principle followed was apparently that any tenant who had sub-let any of his land at all must be a tenure-holder. That this was done at the instance of the proprietors seems clear from the following lines in the final report "In Panga Harenarayanpur the proprietors desired to have the tenants shown as tenure-holders believing that a more favourable enhancement of rent can be obtained under section 7 than under section 30 of the Bengal Tenancy Act!" Also a large number of rent-free holders were recorded as liable to rent. They had never paid rent however and were able, in many cases, to produce taidads, showing their rent-free title. The proprietors pressed hard for the petty settlement records to be followed in toto. This was clearly impossible under the circumstances, and when evidence to the contrary was available as it frequently was, they were held to be rebutted. A petty settlement also appears to have been made in some villages in Gangachara, Nilphamari and Saghata in 1893. No final report or records were found in the Collectorate but many of the same errors as regards status were found in the records produced by the parties.

138. Application of section 22.—

Owing to the large number of co-sharer landlords in the district and the lack of co-ordination in the management of the estates, the second clause of this section applying to the acquisition of occupancy raiyati holdings by a co-sharer landlord, or a co-sharer permanent tenure-holder was frequently invoked. Most of the transfers had taken place before the amendment of 1928 but both the old and the new sub-sections were a constant cause of trouble and the subject of innumerable notes for orders as it was very difficult to devise standard entries in the record which would cover all the cases. For some time it was considered that the old section 22(2) applied both to entire raiyati holdings and to shares of raiyati holdings and some of the records were prepared accordingly. It was then decided at a conference of Settlement Officers that it referred to the transfer of entire holdings only and that a co-sharer landlord or permanent tenure-holder purchasing a share of an occupancy holding before 1929 would become a co-sharer raiyat for that share. A large number of records had to be corrected. Difficulties in recording the shares of the rent were

common owing to the frequency with which co-sharers amalgamated shares of rents for different holdings. The amended section also puts a heavy onus on the attesting kanungo. He is to decide exactly what a rent decree or a rent sale is, and, for this purpose he is compelled to examine the proceedings very closely to ensure that all the complicated provisions of section 148A have been complied with. Such questions of procedure take up a great deal of the Attesting Officers' time and cannot be covered by general instructions as each decision must vary with the differing facts of each case. At the present time the settlement instructions seek to allot the correct status in all such cases and also add explanatory entries for the benefit of civil courts in the event of future litigation. Thus under the amended section the Attesting Officer is bound to differentiate between a private sale and a sale in execution of a rent decree as the status in each case is different. Logically a different entry should also be made to cover cases before and after the amendment Act in 1907. A fair criticism against this procedure is that it demands a high degree of knowledge of civil court procedure from a staff which is primarily concerned with making a record of possession and that the record would not suffer if in such cases the transaction be accepted at its face value and the parties be left to contest illegalities of procedure in the civil courts.

139. The application of section 182.—

In all the urban areas claims were put forward to have holdings recorded under the Tenancy Act on the strength of section 182. When these holdings were used purely as shops or offices there was no difficulty as section 182 clearly applies to homesteads only. When however the holding in question was a dwelling house the problem was more difficult. It is quite obvious that the intention of the section was to protect the homesteads of *bona fide* agriculturists which might otherwise, on account of being in a bazar or urban area, have come under the operations of the Transfer of Property Act with its insistence on contractual obligations. But the wording seems to leave unnecessary loopholes and some glaring cases came to light in which non-agriculturists such as members of the legal professions, shopkeepers, clerical

workers, etc., sought to invoke its protection by taking hurried leases of small agricultural plots in contiguous mauzas or by making some attempt to cultivate their garden lands. The claims were not allowed as it was held that the homestead must be held for an agricultural purpose. It is difficult however to gather from the High Court decisions the exact implications of the law and an amendment of the section making it clear that it applies only to *bona fide* agriculturists seems called for. To allow pure town dwellers the benefit of its protection would be unfair to the landlords. This problem was particularly acute in Nilphamari where it was complicated by the fact that the subdivisional headquarters was only moved to its present site in 1882 and consequently many of the holdings were originally agricultural in nature and occupancy rights had been acquired under Act X of 1859.

140. **Partial kharij.**—The rules for recording the partial kharij of a purchaser's name when the transfer has been recognised by one of a group of co-sharers, but not by the others, are given in Appendix VII. Section 88 of the Tenancy Act debars a co-sharer landlord from splitting up a tenancy or distributing the rent thereof without the consent of his other co-sharers so that as far as the records are concerned the tenancy must remain intact. Such, however, is the lack of co-ordination between joint landlords that cases are frequently found when, before the amendment of the Act in 1929 one group had accepted salami from a transferee or part transferee of the subordinate holding and mutated his name whilst the other group of co-sharers either remained ignorant of the transaction or refused to recognise it. In such cases it is necessary to devise an entry in the records which recognises the double fact of the integrity of the tenancy on the one hand and the contract between the co-sharer landlord who has accepted the salami and the transferee on the other hand. The entry is bound in any case to be cumbrous and efforts were made to avoid using it as far as possible by urging the non-consenting landlord to grant kharij or to split up the tenancy. When this was not done the rules were applied and in spite of some complicated cases in estates such as Bamahidanga, Panga and Tepa, they

worked reasonably well until the attestation of thanas Gobindaganj and Palasbari. Here the complications were so intricate that the standard rules completely broke down and simplified entries had to be evolved in which references to plots and shares were avoided as far as possible. An example will show the difficulties encountered. In an estate of mauza Durgapur, J.L. No. 185, police-station Palasbari, there were four groups of proprietary khatians—(1) Tauzis 663-667 jointly, (2) Tauzi 664, (3) Tauzi 663 and (4) Tauzis 663 and 664 jointly. In group (1) there were thirteen joint proprietors, in group (2) nine, in group (3) ten and in group (4) eleven. Under each of these proprietors were a number of jamas held by two co-sharer tenants with an eight annas share each. One of the co-sharer tenants sold his share in all the jamas and the transferee obtained kharij from all the proprietors except one who held a proprietary share in each of the four groups. Neither landlord nor tenant was able to say which Jamas appertained to which group of tauzis and to add to the confusion the rents found in the landlord's papers were the rents paid by the transferee whose name had been kharijed, since the other eight anna co-sharer tenant had not paid rent for some 20 years. The final difficulty was that many of the jamas had been amalgamated by individual landlords for their own convenience of collection without any regard to the shares of the other landlords and the original jamas had, in many cases, been completely forgotten. The landlords or rather their representatives, protested vigorously against any attempt to split up the holdings and as a result a Revenue Officer had to be specially deputed to unravel the tangle and devise entries which would retain the tenancies intact. Needless to say it was impossible to do this entirely and in the absence of any precise evidence, oral or documentary, there is no doubt that some jamas were amalgamated in the record. This colossal waste of time benefited nobody except the zamindary amlas whose interest it was to preserve as much confusion as possible in the record and thereby increase their opportunities of exacting illicit dues from the tenants. It is a thousand pities that the Settlement Officer is not empowered, in such cases, to discharge the functions of a civil court under section 88 of the Tenancy Act.

141. Objections under section 103A.—The statement below shows the number of objections and the manner of their disposal :—

been withheld at the attestation stage. Cases filed against the railway authorities were few in number but difficult to decide. They occurred

Number of objections.	Allow- ed.	Dis- allow- ed.	Status.		Rent.		Mokarari		Others.	
			Allow- ed.	Dis- allow- ed.	Allow- ed.	Dis- allow- ed.	Allow- ed.	Dis- allow- ed.	Allow- ed.	Dis- allow- ed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Block A, 10,180 ..	4,480	5,700	174	370	691	806	1,082	1,205	2,533	3,319
Block B, 9,580 ..	4,505	5,075	174	334	687	723	1,110	1,044	2,534	2,974
Block C, 7,947 ..	3,903	4,044	211	228	483	524	810	879	2,399	2,413
Block D, 8,072 ..	3,654	4,220	124	308	532	578	922	767	2,274	2,567
Total, 35,779 ..	16,740	19,039	683	1,240	2,393	2,634	3,924	3,895	9,740	11,273

They amounted to 2.2 per cent. of the total interests attested, a remarkably light programme. Their number was greatest in thanas Lalmonirhat, Ulipur, Rangpur and Mithapukur and least in Dimla, Kishoreganj, Domar, and Jaldakha. Owing to the use of the terms "jote" and "chukani" in the kabuliyats and the fact that they were very often confirmatory in nature disputes as to status were very common. The Panga petty settlement records also gave rise to many such disputes. A very marked feature was the anxiety of the landlords to have their tenants recorded as tenure-holders and the equal anxiety of the tenants to obtain raiyati status. Economic facts have proved stronger than desire for prestige. Of the big estate disputes the Kasimbazar jotedar problem gave no trouble as the cases were finished at attestation. In blocks C and D however the Patiladaha cases were numerous and very keenly contested. Out of 262 cases 226 tenants were recorded temporary tenure-holders, 16 permanent tenure holders and 20 as raiyats. Another common form of status dispute occurred in the urban areas where the landlords claimed dakhalkar status for their tenants and the tenants themselves claimed to be raiyats. A troublesome type of case was that in which landlords claimed the transfer of plots from one holding to another on the basis of chittas and other papers which were not produced at attestation. The Kasimbazar estate, proceeding on its usual course of affording the minimum amount of help to the authorities, filed a large number of such cases in block C on the basis of a chitta of 1275-79 which had

principally in Saidpur. Acquisition plans were sometimes not available in the Collectorate and as the railway authorities required about 3 months' notice to produce their own copies, the cases were very frequently held up. Rent disputes were common owing to the large number of illegal enhancements that had been made. The vast majority of the cases, however, were trivial and easily decided.

Objection Officers were expected to decide an average of 25 cases per day. This standard was easily maintained and frequently exceeded. All cases involving general principles were decided by the Settlement Officer or one of the Charge Officers and a general order issued to the Objection Officers for guidance in similar cases.

C. Boundary disputes.

142. Procedure.—Boundary disputes were dealt with under Part V of the Survey Act and the decisions based either on possession or compromise. For comparative purposes the revenue survey map was relayed on the disputed area by the Technical Adviser. The procedure followed was the rather lengthy one laid down as the regular method of disposal in the rules. This involves in the first place a decision by the cadastral Circle Officer during or after bujharat and confirmation of his order by the cadastral Charge Officer. The case may then be reopened during attestation and if the original order is amended, the

new order must be confirmed by the attestation Charge Officer. His order is subject to appeal to the Settlement Officer. This procedure seems unsuitable for settlement operations when the whole object is to settle disputes quickly and without the long drawn out tedium of civil court procedure. It was frequently found that evidence changed completely during the year that elapsed between bujharat and attestation. As no full record of the evidence given at the first enquiry is kept, the position of the Attestation Officer was unenviable. That of the appellate court can well be imagined. The system also places an undue premium in the use of dishonest methods to suborn witnesses, and consequently the powerful zamindar is in a position of great advantage. An alternative method is allowed in the rules by which small disputes may be finally decided at the cadastral stage with the previous permission of the Superintendent of Survey and larger disputes may be similarly decided by a specially selected officer. This is clearly not intended to be the regular method of disposal and, in fact, in no settlement has it been so applied. For this reason it was not used in Rangpur though experience has shown that new facts of a material nature seldom come to light during the years interval allowed. From all standpoints however it appears to be a better procedure than the one laid down in rule 353 of the Manual and might with advantage be made the regular mode of disposal.

143. Nature of the cases.—The cases, though keenly contested, were generally of a trivial nature. Many were frivolous. They arose most commonly where shifting rivers formed the boundary of two estates held by separate proprietors. As land accretes to one bank and is diluviated from the other,

the tenants of the side to which the accretion has been made invariably extend their cultivation whilst the tenants on the opposite bank are compelled to retreat. Thus, in course of time land of one estate reforms on the other bank but is held by tenants of another landlord. The possession of these tenants is legally considered to be for the benefit of their own landlord. Sometimes these encroachments had gone on without opposition and were brought to light by a comparison of the thak and revenue survey map with the settlement map. In other cases especially where the river bed had subsequently dried up completely, they had been the subject of prolonged civil litigation. In all the cases however disputes were immediately filed and affidavits as to possession put in. Some of the affidavits were so absurdly false that as a test case a prosecution was launched in the criminal courts. It was however found impossible to obtain a conviction and all such cases had to be admitted. The affidavit required by the rules, appears to be little more than a formality. In spite of the clear provisions of the Survey Act the dispossessed landlords nearly always made title their principal contention whilst possession supported by much false evidence, came second. Cases of this nature occurred in large numbers along the banks of the Tista and Karatoa and their allied rivers. In the Brahmaputra the disputes were complicated by the fact that the initial relay of the mauza boundaries when they ran through undemarcated sand had to be shifted several chains to correspond with the comparative river map. Thus several cases that had been decided by a relay of thak chaks had to be reopened.

The following table shows the number of cases filed and the manner of their disposal :—

District block.	Number of cases filed.	Cases struck off or withdrawn at cadastral stages.	Cases not reopened at attestation.	Number of cases reversed by Attestation Officer.	Number of cases disposed of by Charge Officer, Attestation.	Number of appeal heard by Settlement Officer.	
						Order upheld.	Order reversed.
A ..	174	7	11	47	109	30	10
B ..	143	7	1	14	121	19	3
C ..	96	2	11	34	49	16	1
D ..	110	4	..	23	83	13	5
Total ..	523	20	23	118	362	78	19

Subsequent stages of settlement.

144. Final janch.—This stage of the operation which is generally regarded as the least interesting and most tiresome of them all has been elaborate. The experience in Rangpur has gone to show that the slightest relaxing of the high standard of check is productive of endless trouble after the records have been printed and leads to a crop of cases under section 115B. Its importance lies in the fact that it can be carried out at a central office where all the records of the block are stored during the recess. Previous checking stages are handicapped by being in circle camps and information is transmitted from one camp to another by post or by peon. The result is a tendency to carry out the check on inadequate information and mistakes in tamilling tenancies or holdings which occur in several circles, are common. The various stages were as follows:—

Stage I—(a) Sheet check by amin.

(b) Sheet check by kanungos.

Stage II—Check of disputes, objections, rent notes, schedules and 109C proceedings.

Stage III—Miscellaneous check; amalgamation proceedings, etc.

Stage IV—(a) Barat mil.

(b) Comparison of plot index.

(c) Column Check.

(d) Check of Khasra.

Stage V—Passing of mistakes.

Stage VI—Second check by selected Peshkar.

Stage VII—Passing of the area.

Stage VIII—Vandyke work.

Stage IX—Statistics.

Stage X—Arrangement of files.

By this means the important columns of every record, every map, every statistics register is thoroughly checked and compared with all the connected records so that it is impossible that any cumulative error can occur and the possibility of disconnected errors is reduced to the minimum. The camp which was held at Rangpur for blocks A, B and D and at Gaibandha for block C (a sub-camp for block B was held at Saidpur) was placed under the charge of an Assistant Settlement Officer. It was divided

into four squads each under an experienced Revenue Officer, with a staff of kanungos and clerks. Every mauza passed through the full ten stages and the squad was divided into five sections, with one or two kanungos in each section, to deal with corollary stages. Thus stages I and VII were taken together. Stages II and III being of great importance, were given to sections comprised entirely of kanungos. Stages IV and VI were done by clerks under a squad officer and stage VIII by clerks under a kanungo (Vandyke is the preliminary grouping of interests which forms the basis of the future computation of costs). Mistakes were all reconciled and passed by the squad officer. Important matters were dealt with by the Final Janch Officer and if necessary referred to the Settlement Officer. After the experience of blocks A and B it was found necessary to make the passing of mistakes a separate section. At this time also it was made a rule that all percentage check should be done by a system of random sampling. As for example, after the khatians had undergone column check by clerks they were given to a selected peshkar for a 20 per cent. check. For each mauza taken haphazardly, a number between 1 and 5 was allotted. If the number three was allotted khatians 3, 8, 13 and so on were checked. The mistakes which are most likely to slip through are those which have no corollary means of check such as a manifestly wrong status, or manifestly wrong rent. These were corrected later under section 115B. Their number was gratifyingly small. It is probably true that there is a stage beyond which check becomes inoperative, as every clerk relies on another clerk to check his work, but elaborate though it is, it cannot be said that the present system has reached that condition.

The types of the mistakes detected were as follows:—

(a) Gaps and overlaps in the sheets and wrong area extraction.

(b) Careless barat comparison at attestation.

(c) Union Boards shown with wrong jurisdiction.

(d) Errors in boundary comparison; these were very numerous.

(e) Careless recording of acquired lands.

Mistakes (a) and (e) were difficult to deal with as a local enquiry had to be made

in all cases. The other mistakes were corrected either by checking one set of records against another or, as a last resort, summoning the tenants concerned to the camp. About 2,000 such summons were issued.

The camps were held during recess, though it was possible in all the blocks to start a skeleton camp about May to deal with the early attested records. In every season the camps were completed before the Puja vacation.

145. Missing tauzis.—Fifty cases occurred where tauzis appeared to be missing from the record. Of these, 27 were reconciled and 23 reported to the Collector. These 23 estates were of the following nature:—

- | | |
|--|----|
| (1) Revenue-paying permanently-settled estates of this district | 5 |
| (2) Revenue-paying permanently-settled estates of other districts purporting to have land in this district | 2 |
| (3) Revenue-free estates of this district | 13 |
| (4) Revenue-free estates of other districts purporting to have land in this district | 3 |

The reason for the failure to identify these estates was that the landlord was out of possession and unable to state where the lands were and that the thak chaks where they existed could not be re-laid. The number of missing revenue free estates is eloquent of the carelessness or chicanery which occurs in landlord's offices.

146. Land Register D.—Register D forms the starting point for the compilation of G form (which corresponds in the Settlement Department to D register in the Collectorate). From the G form the maliki khatians are prepared. During the recess before each block was taken up, notices were issued to proprietors to appear for the correction of the entries as noted in register D. Cases which were not completed before the beginning of the field season were dealt with by the Cadastral Circle Officers. In the Rangpur Collectorate D and A registers were combined but the mutations were found to be badly out of date. It was kept in three different ways—

- (1) Showing the shares in annas and fractions of annas, totalling 16 annas for each tauzi.
- (2) Showing the amount of land in possession of each proprietor.

- (3) Showing *mahalwar* or *mauzawar* shares, i.e., for the same tauzi a separate version of D register is kept for each mauza or group of mauzas and the shares recorded in each are different, though each totalling 16 annas.

The notations adopted for showing fractions of annas were numerous, e.g.—

- annas, gandas, karas and pies.
- annas, gandas, karas, pies and krantis.
- annas, gandas, karas, kags and tils.
- annas, gandas, karas, krantis, dhuls and jobs.
- annas, gandas, karas, kags, tils and bahari.

The pie was sometimes shown as a fraction such as $6\frac{89}{135}$ pies. Similarly krantis and tils were also shown as fractions. Examples are $16\frac{1227}{12073}$ krantis and $6\frac{1558029}{1720320}$ tils. The absurdity of such a notation is obvious and they have all been converted to the standard settlement notation. The conversion of the fractional pies, krantis and tils was a long and labourious task. Some of the *groupwar* registrations were found to have an unnecessary number of groups and these were amalgamated. Under the rules in force the settlement G forms are to be used as draft registers showing where facts of possession differ from the collectorate record. The Collector may then take action under section 28 of Act VII (B.C.) of 1876 to correct his own registers. This seems an unnecessary waste of time and the procedure advocated in the Pabna-Bogra Settlement Report, whereby the headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer would be empowered under the Land Registration Act, would save time and also be more economical. The difficulty of dealing with register D under the present rules is exemplified by the case of tauzi 146. In that tauzi there are 62 mauzas. These were recorded in 8 groups. In the settlement G form this was reduced to 5 groups and the maliki khatians were prepared accordingly. Meanwhile on inspection of the Collectorate the Honourable Member, Board of Revenue, ordered a different form of registration with still fewer groups. This means that register D in its final form will differ from the record of rights. It seems necessary to avoid

such occurrences, that sanction for the revision of the grouping should normally be obtained from the Collector who would then be responsible for obtaining the opinion of the Board of Revenue, in important cases, before the settlement records were printed.

147. Land registers A, B and C.—The new settlement forms 163-167 have been standardised to correspond exactly with the form of the Collector's registers A, B and C. Under the present rules (Appendix Y, Survey and Settlement Manual, 1935), they are to be prepared in such a way that they may be used later as draft registers for the purpose of rewriting the Collectorate register. One or two of the columns which, under the Land Registration Manual, must be entered by the Collector, have been left blank. It is obviously an absurd duplication of work to require the Collector to recopy the registers and seems necessary under the rules. Consequently they have been prepared and bound by the Settlement Department, exactly as they are kept in the Collectorate. It is to be hoped that they will be accepted as the permanent registers after the necessary Collectorate information has been entered.

148. Statistics branch.—There was very little difficulty in applying the standard rules in the statistics branch, except in two cases. The first was the register of rents and tenancies. This had to be prepared before all the diara resumption cases had been heard in appeal by the Board of Revenue. It was prepared on the assumption that the cases would be approved. Many modifications however have been ordered. Thus the number of tenancies will be affected and those which had been split up into two portions, the area in the temporarily-settled private estate and the area in the permanently-settled estate have been amalgamated. The change is so infinitesimal that it does not affect the *thanawar* or the *districtwar* figures. It is noticeable however in those few villages which were released from resumption under orders of the Board of Revenue. It was also found as regards the same register that the figures checked and compiled at Final Janch were not always accurate and the register had to be rechecked, from the Attestation Janch forms. The second case was the result of another breakdown in the Final

Janch procedure. The public land registers were found to be inaccurate after a test check. They had to be corrected and rewritten in the statistics branch. Final Janch is already a highly complicated branch - with a checking system that has frequently been criticised as too intensive. It is quite clear that unless the statistics branch is to be flooded with extra work at the end of the proceedings, the procedure in Final Janch requires tightening up rather than relaxing.

149. Drawing Office.—The preliminary work of the drawing section began in July 1931 under a senior Revenue Officer. A few draftsmen were appointed the same year to retouch the bujharat celluloids and prepare comparative maps for boundary disputes received from the circle camps. In April 1933 the drawing section of Malda Settlement was transferred to Rangpur and placed under the Technical Adviser. Work on the 16" Rangpur sheets began the same year. The two major difficulties experienced were the retracing of photographs and the congregation of mauzas for the 4" maps. There were 350 cases of retracing owing to defective scales on the photographs and careless tracing in the circle camps. Six draftsmen a year were employed exclusively for this. The difficulty of congregating the mauzas arose from the lack of traverse points by which slight errors of overlap and gap could be adjusted. Various methods were examined including the possibility of printing the uncorrected congregation by photography on a tilting table. Eventually the corrections had to be made by plotting partial lines on a 16" scale for the entire thana, distributing the error along them and congregating accordingly. The work of relaying railway acquired lands and Government acquired lands was heavy as the district contains an unusual length of Railway line. 396 railway plans were relaid and 43 serious discrepancies were discovered in which actual possession differed materially from the plan. All these cases involved fresh local enquiries and long correspondence with the Chief Engineer of the Eastern Bengal Railway or the Manager of the Bengal Duars Railway. In the majority of these cases cultivators have been recorded as trespassers in column 23 of the railway khatian. In three cases the railway

was found to have encroached on private land. The relay of acquired roads was complicated by the fact that in some cases the plans were not available and in other cases they were hopelessly inaccurate. Generally speaking, the standard of accuracy of the land acquisition plans was found to be deplorably low. A large number of cases of encroachment were found. One particularly glaring instance was that of the Rangpur-Champaganj Road (police-station Firganj) which had never been demarcated since the land was acquired by the District Board and had moved far away from the acquired area. In the case of *kacha* roads the tendency to shift position after a number of years is very noticeable unless the route is marked by boundary pillars. Relaying the plans of such shifting roads is a long and laborious business. Another source of difficulty was the identification of the site of abandoned Imperial roads. There are no detailed plans of the old portions, save the Revenue Survey maps which show the road as a single line and can only be used to indicate the general alignment. In the past the District Board has made frequent diversions of these roads along acquired strips of land, virtually abandoning the old course. Under the law a District Board ought not to cease to maintain a road without the sanction of the Divisional Commissioner. If it does so, the land automatically escheats to Government. For this reason identification has to be attempted. One such case occurred in Rangpur town where the road had long been diverted and the old

route had been built over. In this case the Collector agreed that the trouble and expense of identification and resumption would not be worthwhile. 170 sites have been acquired for public buildings of which 16 of the land acquisition cases contained no plans. In 5 of the cases the maps had manifestly been drawn incorrectly and could not be used. A curious case discovered by relaying a land acquisition plan occurred in police-station Lalmonirhat where identical pieces of land were acquired first by the District Board and then by the Railway.

The mapping section has prepared 16" village maps, 4" and 2" thana maps and mark mujmilis for indicating the position of tri-junction pillars. The 2" maps will be reduced to 1" thana maps by the Bengal Drawing Office. The 4" maps are no longer done in colours. This is a measure of economy induced by the fact that such maps are seldom used. It is an unfortunate step since the 4" maps are really of very great administrative value and the reason they are not more used is because their existence is hardly known.

In addition to these district maps, diara maps have been prepared of all proposed resumptions. This work has entailed the permanent employment of seven draftsmen since 1933.

A schedule of the 16" mapping section work is attached.

District block.	Total number of—		Jarnabandi and diara affected.		Non-diara affected.	
	Square miles.	Sheets.	Square miles.	Sheets.	Square miles.	Sheets.
A	806	1,387	166	240	640	1,138
B	1,296	2,107	277	677	1,019	1,430
C	761	1,505	145	388	616	1,117
D	758	1,713	55	100	703	1,613
" Total ..	3,621	6,712	643	1,414	2,978	5,298

150. **The Record.**—Extracts from the general instructions issued to kanungos have been given in Appendix VII. Standard khatians have also been included. These will explain the more complicated entries found in the finally published record. Most of the other entries are self-explanatory. In one or two cases the instructions were altered during the course of the operations and consequently the same facts may be represented by different entries in different year. These cases are tabulated below—

- (1) *Besthit* entries : Until 1933 when a female co-sharer was noted as *besthit* in column 13, i.e., she had a legal share in the holding, but having left the village, derived no benefit from it except on rare visits, specific possession was noted in column 23 opposite each plot of land.

In 1934 this rule was amended and all *besthit* co-sharers were grouped together in column 13 and given a group letter.

- (2) *Pargana* names : Originally the pargana name was recorded according to the name noted on the Revenue Survey map. This rule was amended in 1933. The correct pargana name was taken to be the one recorded in the Collector's old "C" register of the *thak* survey. Also when more than one pargana occurred in the mauza, all the names were to be recorded in the abstract khatian.

- (3) Record of purchasers after the amendment Act of 1928 : Originally purchasers of specific plots of raiyati holdings were recorded in a *khandu* khatian. This system was altered in 1934 and the purchaser bracketted with the vendor in column 13. This was found unsuitable and the old method was reintroduced in 1935.

- (4) Mortgages : Until 1934 the fact that a plot or a holding was mortgaged was recorded in column 23 or column 13. The period of the mortgage was recorded in some cases and not in others. In 1934 standard entries were devised showing in all cases the period of the mortgage and noting when the

mortgage was legal and when not legal.

- (5) Jalkar : The period of the lease was not noted until 1935, i.e., the last block of the operations.
- (6) Local Board roads : Previous to 1935 they were recorded in the District Board khatians, if borne in the District Board schedule of roads, and a note as to maintenance made in column 23. If they were not borne on the District Board schedule a Local Board khatian was opened. In 1935 Local Board khatians were abolished and a note of the maintenance made in all cases.
- (7) Exchange of plots : Before 1934 all exchanges were noted by *একতাল দা* in column 23. After 1934 different entries were made according as to whether the exchange occurred before or after the amendment Act of 1928.
- (8) The change in the partial Kharij Rules has been noted at length in Appendix VII.
- (9) It is to be noted that although the names of adhiars were entered in the draft record, they were not printed in the final record.

Chapter X—Diara and Jamabandi.

151. **Diara Programme.**—The diara resumption programme comprised some of the most intricate revenue operations that have ever had to be dealt with in the province. The work was begun in 1933 when Babu Sachindra Mohan Guha was appointed a full-time Diara and Jamabandi Officer and up to the time of going to press (1938) most of the cases have been finally confirmed by the Board of Revenue, one or two have been dropped, some are awaiting confirmation whilst, in others, the decision of the Board is being contested in the civil courts. The proceedings followed the regular survey as quickly as possible but even so, it was found too great a task for one officer and in 1936 Babu Hemanga Lal Das Gupta was appointed to deal with some of the smaller rivers. Of all the proceedings those in the river Brahmaputra proved the most troublesome.

152. Principles of resumption and assessment.—The revenue survey maps were taken as the starting point and where the thak maps could be relaid to the benefit of the proprietors, this was done. In the Brahmaputra, however, only the areas common to Rennell and the revenue survey were resumed. As soon as the assessment line, i.e., the revenue survey line, had been relaid on the 16-inch sheets the Diara Officer demarcated the line locally making such modifications as were necessary owing to the configuration of the land and at the same time making the assessment enquiries into the quality of the land, outturn of crops, etc. The new records and rent-rolls were then prepared at headquarters. Existing rents were maintained on the basis of lump rentals and split up between kayem and diara lands. Unassessed culturable land was assessed at the average raiyati rate of the village, culturable waste at one-fourth and sands at one-sixteenth of the rate.¹ Pathways, roads, drainage channels, etc., were left unassessed when in the khas possession of the landlord. No contractual tenures dating from before 1885 were found and so in view of section 191, Bengal Tenancy Act, none of them were considered to be binding against Government. First grade tenures were assessed on their assets less 20 per cent. as profit, taken out of the profit of the proprietor, second and third grade tenures received 15 per cent. and 10 per cent., respectively, as profit out of the profit of the tenures immediately superior to them. Government revenue was assessed at 70 per cent. of the assets except where proprietors waived their right to sue. In such cases (affecting the proprietors of Panga, Purbabhog, Itakumari and Balihar) it was fixed at 60 per cent. The only departure from this rule was made in the case of the Kasimbazar Estate. By a special resolution of the Board (6373 S. & S. of 23rd April 1935) 55 per cent. was allowed as profit, the first, second and third grade tenures receiving 30 per cent., 20 per cent. and 15 per cent., respectively. The records and rent-roll in each case were locally attested and draft published. There were very few objections under section 104E, Bengal Tenancy Act, but the resumption proceedings were contested

strenuously at every stage. Many of the objections raised were common to all proceedings.

153. Rennell's map (1765-73).—Rennell's map was produced in almost every case and the zamindars sought to show by a relay that that area proposed for resumption was dry land at the time of the decennial settlement. Two maps were generally used. One for the Brahmaputra alone on a scale of 2½ miles to an inch and a general map on a scale of 5 miles to an inch. A good deal of difficulty was experienced in dealing with these relays. In the first place the maps were primarily topographical and were never meant for revenue purposes: Rennell was deputed to map river trade routes only, and, secondly, small rivers were often never properly surveyed and were shown very approximately so that no relay could be made without a very large margin of error. Consequently, the principle applied in small rivers was that if, on a rough comparison, it was found that Rennell's river flowed in the vicinity of the revenue survey river, it was held to corroborate the revenue survey map and no mathematical relay was attempted. This principle is supported by the High Court decision in *Sri Gobindha Chaudhury versus Secretary of State for India in Council* (22nd January 1932). In the case of the Dharla river the Board of Revenue accepted this (resolution No. 12655 S. & S. of 1935), but dissented from this in the case of the Sankos river (resolution No. 5792 S. & S. of 1937). In the Brahmaputra, however, Rennell was held to be of great value. As it was a great navigable river and one of the principal highways of trade it was surveyed fairly accurately. The principle followed throughout was that laid down by the Board in resolution No. 1682 S. & S. of 1937, namely, that "there should be no resumption except of blocks which a rough and ready comparison of the comparative map indicates were common to Rennell's and the revenue survey river."

154. Use of the thak maps.—Under rule 11, Chapter XV of the Technical Rules, proprietors are entitled to claim any benefit arising out of a relay of the thak maps. These were relaid where possible by a judicious shifting of common points. In the Brahmaputra, however, and in one or two of the smaller

¹Sands of the Kasimbazar Raj Diara Mahals formed part of the Brahmaputra River were left out of assessment under a special order of the Board (Resolution No. 13400 S. & S. dated 16th July 1938).

rivers the thaks were useless. They were so discrepant that even the boldest adjustment failed. The length and breadth did not tally and in the Brahmaputra especially fixed points for relay were, more often than not, completely lacking. Sometime, in the smaller rivers, only one bank was mapped and sometimes where both banks were mapped in different thaks and the relay was made, it was found that the banks overlapped. In other cases the river was merely sketched in by eye and was never surveyed. In such circumstances relay had to be abandoned and the revenue survey maps alone used. Such cases occurred in the rivers Brahmaputra, Sankos, Gajaria and Manas.

155. Towfir lands.—During his report on the Rangpur record room, made in 1919 in connection with the Mymensingh Jamuna resumption proceedings, the Assistant Settlement Officer remarked on the frequent use by Rangpur zemindars of a letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Superintendent of Surveys (No. 143 of 29th October 1857). This letter stated that as the Permanent Settlement of the Eastern districts of Bengal was generally made *parqanawari* "there are therefore no *towfir* lands..... and under the law of 1847 there are no alluvial lands open to assessment at present." During almost all the present proceedings also this letter was quoted and arguments based on it were pressed even before the Board of Revenue. In fact whatever force the letter had in 1857, and it was apparently issued only because the surveys postulated by Act IX of 1847 had not been carried out, the principle that a *parqanawari* settlement is a bar to diara resumption has been negated by the Privy Council ruling in the Burdwan Case (26 C.W.N. 620) where it was stated categorically that "chars formed after the decennial settlement are to be treated as unsettled (article 3 of Regulation II of 1819) and that this express provision cannot be excluded merely by showing that the river bed, from which the chars have been thrown up, was at the date of settlement the property of the zemindars and that the settlement was imposed upon the zemindary as a whole."

156. Limitation as applied to resumption.—The majority of proprietors pleaded limitation under article 149 of

the First Schedule of the Limitation Act. The plea was rejected following the Board's ruling in the case of John King & Co. *versus* Secretary of State (resolution No. 2689 S. & S. of 1933). That this is the commonsense application of the statute can hardly be denied as in diara resumption proceedings the cause of action cannot be determined until the accretion is definitely fixed and brought to the knowledge of Government by a scientific survey. At the same time the case law in favour of this view is by no means clear and though it is supported by I. L. R. 53 Cal. 56 a Full Bench ruling on the point is desirable.

157. Miscellaneous objections.—The most important of these may be briefly mentioned: (1) Proprietors with *jalkar* right claimed thereby a proprietary right in the sub-soil. This was negated in accordance with the law clearly enumerated by the High Court in I. L. R. XXXI Cal. 937 and followed by the Board in numerous resolutions. "When the grant is merely a right of fishing, the lessee acquires no interest in the sub-soil, nor is he entitled to retain possession when the water dries up." (2) Proprietors who could advantageously quote the entries in the Collector's "A" Register, frequently did so. This point again was negated on the basis of established rulings which were summarised by the Board in the case of the Midnapore Zemindary Company *versus* Secretary of State for India in Council in 1919. "The revenue survey was not made with a view to the demarcation of permanently-settled estates and the assessment of accreted lands. No enquiries were made at that time to that end, nor was there any provision of law under which they could be made. The entry in Register A is no evidence that the river was assessed to revenue." (3) In the case of small rivers the plea that they were non-navigable and hence not liable to resumption was frequently advanced. The view taken, however, was that section 4 (4) of Regulation XI of 1825 read with the proviso to section 4 (1) rendered accretions from non-navigable rivers no less liable to assessment than accretions from larger and navigable rivers. This view has been supported by the Privy Council in the Burdwan case. (4) Various zemindary papers were produced. Of these the most important were the *digbandi* papers, old zemindary returns showing

the boundaries usually by villages. It was generally argued that if the river was not mentioned this was conclusive proof that it did not flow through that particular village. Although this contention, on the basis of *ex-parte* papers was rejected, releases were actually made if the zemindars could show, by *digbandi* papers of neighbouring villages, that the river flowed elsewhere at the time the returns were made. Such releases were made in the Gajaria river on several occasions. Other papers were quinquennial returns, goswara papers and, chauhaddabandi papers. These were usually very old, difficult to decipher and even more difficult to identify with any measure of accuracy, with existing boundaries or landmarks. In the Brahmaputra they were quite unintelligible, but in one or two smaller rivers where they were finally reduced to some semblance of order they supported in general the case for resumption, affording an ironic commentary on the practice of some of the zemindars' agents in filing innumerable old documents without first weighing their evidentiary value.

158. Special pleas: the Baharband Sanad.—The most important of the special pleas put forward¹ was by the Kasimbazar Estate. The famous sanad granted by Warren Hastings in 1779 was claimed to exclude the estate from the operation of the ordinary diara laws of the province¹. It was with great difficulty that the history of this sanad was finally traced. At a late stage in the case an uncatalogued collection of decennial papers dealing with the estate was found in a forgotten corner of the Collectorate Record Room. Other relevant papers were collected one by one from the Historical Record Room in Writers' Buildings, and it was finally established that this sanad was no more than an ordinary mokrari grant and was treated as such, after deductions for *sayer* and addition for kanungos *rossum* at the decennial settlement. This view has been finally approved by the Board in resolution No. 2415 S. & S. of 1938. "The treatment of mokrari grants in general and this one in particular at the decennial settlement was a definite issue. The Directors at home had sent out peremptory orders to cancel this grant as soon as it was reported to them. We may surmise that had there been no

general permanent settlement it would have been cancelled. But it was treated the same way as other valid mokraris. The decennial settlement was made with the grantee at his mokrari jama and the permanent settlement was made in the ordinary course at the same jama subject to deductions for *sayer* resumed and addition for kanungo's allowance paid henceforth by the estate. There is no doubt that the appellants' title dates from 1779: that the contract of 1779 subsists. The claim, however, that the appellant is exempt from the various acts dealing with resumption to revenue, is preposterous. His grant, for instance, is subject to the provisions of Regulation XI of 1825. If he is not affected by Regulation II of 1819 it will be because there is no land liable to resumption, not because the Regulation does not apply."

159. River Sankos.—The river enters the district from Cooch Behar at mauza Uttar Dhaḍanga and flows east and then south through thanas Bhurungamari and Nageswari. Two surveys were available—an early and rather inaccurate survey of the Assam boundary by Bedford and the revenue survey by Pemberton. Rennell was excluded as his survey was extremely inaccurate and he shows the river by a straight line.² In consequence Pemberton's line was followed.³ On appeal to the Board of Revenue certain releases in thana Nageswari were made on the basis of Rennell and in conformity with the principle enunciated in this judgment proceedings in the rivers Dudhkumar and Gangadhar in this thana were also dropped.

160. River Dharla.—This river enters the district from Cooch Behar and after flowing through thanas Lalmonirhat, Fulbari, Kurigram and Ulipur debouches into the Brahmaputra near mauza Bagua. The proceeding was on the basis of the revenue survey as modified by the thak map. Rennell's map and a small map prepared by Buchanan Hamilton were both rejected as inaccurate and this view has been

¹Major Hirst in his book "Surveys of Bengal by Major James Rennell" remarks that the Sankos was "almost certainly vaguely mapped".

²The point as to whether Bedford or Pemberton should have been followed is now at issue in the Civil Courts. The Director of Land Records, when Bedford map was sent for opinion, reported that it was inaccurate and not continuous. It has since, however, at the instance of the Civil Court, been relaid by his office.

¹Discussed in the historical chapter of this report.

upheld by the Board. The proceedings in thanas Kurigram and Ulipur are now pending before the Board where the proprietors are claiming releases on the basis of a series of village maps by Perimien (1846-1847) which were rejected by the Settlement Officer on the grounds of inaccuracy and of not being an approved Government survey.¹

161. River Tista.—This river enters the district from Jalpaiguri near to mauza Chhatnai in police-station Domar and flows in a south-easterly direction finally debouching into the Brahmaputra near Kamarjani in police-station Gaibandha. This course was cut during the great floods in 1787; Rennell shows the river flowing to the west of the district. A further change in the upper reaches occurred just after the Permanent Settlement as a result of which a series of resumptions were made in 1835.² For this reason the upper reaches were excluded from the present proceedings and resumptions commenced from mauza Jamirbari, police-station Kaliganj. Rennell's map was naturally of no value and the revenue survey maps, as modified by the thak, were utilised. A difficult question arose as regards the Kasimbazar estates involved. Their mokrari sanad undoubtedly dates from 1779, i.e., before the Tista irrupted into its new course and the revenue then assessed was substantially, with the necessary additions and deductions, the revenue found at the time of the Permanent Settlement. In other words no alteration was made to offset the loss incurred by the alteration in the course of the river. The Board has finally taken the view that resumption now would amount to double assessment and so the Kasimbazar lands have been released (resolution No. 6785 S. & S. 1938).

162. The Brahmaputra.—As has already been noted it was in the Brahmaputra proceedings that the most complex problems, both legal and technical, arose. Part of the difficulty was that the information contained in old maps and documents became available only in dribblets. Neither the District Record Room nor the Bengal Drawing

Office was able to supply, at the outset, the information which subsequently led to a considerable modification of the original proceedings. The biggest estate involved was that of Kasimbazar, and from its somewhat disorganised but seemingly inexhaustible record room maps and documents gradually came to light which not only affected the particular points they were produced to meet, but necessitated wholesale alterations in proceedings which had been regarded as complete. It was not until the beginning of 1937 that comprehensive principles could be laid down on which all the proceedings were based. Originally it was decided with the concurrence of the Director of Land Records, that the blocks common to Rennell and the revenue survey should be resumed and that as a mathematical relay of Rennell was not possible, his map should be used to exclude entire villages which, from the names printed in the map itself, were partially dry land when it was prepared. This it was held would indicate broadly the resumable sand and water at the time of the decennial settlement. Subsequently, other maps were produced and the Board held that a comparative map should be prepared. This was done in the Drawing Office and the following maps were considered:—

- (a) *Rennell's two maps.*—The one on the scale of 5 miles = 1" was used for the course of the river but the internal details of the chars were plotted from the map on the scale of 2½ miles = 1" as this was more favourable to the proprietors.
- (b) *Wilcox's map (1830-31).*—A survey map of the river only. The details of this survey are not known.
- (c) *Bedford's map (1830-31).*—A map of pargana Karaibari in Goalpara (Assam) which is coterminous with the eastern boundary of Rangpur. Only a portion of the river was surveyed and that by prismatic compass.
- (d) *Perimien's map (1846-47).*—This survey was made by the Survey Department at the instance of the Court of Wards in order to compile a map of the Baharband pargana for the purpose of adjudicating conflicting

¹The Board has since rejected the proceedings on the ground that Perimien's maps cannot be ignored and in this case destroy the presumption raised by the revenue survey maps. (Resolution No. 10400 S. & S., dated the 3rd June 1938.)

²Vide paragraph 167. •

claims of landlord and tenant. It was not completed and the Surveyor-General commented on its "doubtful accuracy." It was never approved and cannot therefore be considered a revenue survey.

(e) *Kelso's map (1851-52).*—This is the revenue survey of pargana Jamira in Assam. The survey is accurate as far as it pertains to the Brahmaputra which flowed through Jamira. It therefore carried great weight.

(f) *Pemberton's Revenue Survey of Rangpur (1855-57).*

After a close study of the comparative map and the various documents filed by Kasimbazar Estate the Board, in its resolution No. 1682 S. & S. of 1937, summarised the position thus: "We must believe there was a broad river in approximately the position Rennell showed it and other maps made between Rennell and the revenue survey support that belief. The Board is therefore of opinion that there should be no resumption except of blocks which a rough and ready comparison of the comparative map indicates were common to Rennell's and the revenue survey rivers. Such resumptions can be made without adopting too literal an interpretation of Act IX of 1847 because the zemindars have not discharged the onus which is on them, of showing that the revenue survey bed was dry at the Permanent Settlement, *i.e.*, that Rennell's map as well as the revenue survey map do not represent the position of the river at the time their estates were permanently settled or that Rennell's map has been

wrongly relaid." As a result of this police-station Nageswari was entirely omitted from resumption¹ and the resumable areas were considerably curtailed in other police-stations. Another large area in the south, *i.e.*, from the commencement of district Mymensingh to the southernmost extremity of Rangpur, was entirely omitted as this area had formed the subject matter of proceedings during the Mymensingh survey which were ultimately dropped by the Board's resolution No. 5839 S. & S. of 1922.

163. Ratnai, Mora Tista, Gazaria, Bangali, Manas, Mara Manas.—These are all small rivers and were not specifically mapped by Rennell though it is possible that his Tista creek in places corresponds to the Mora Tista of the revenue survey. He also shows an unnamed channel flowing approximately along the course of the Mara-Manas and Gazaria. Any precise identification however is not possible. The proceedings afforded no particular problems. Portions of the Gajaria river were released on the basis of *digbandi* papers of 1208 B.S. and portions of the Mora Tista were also released by the Board (resolution No. 324 S. & S. of 1937) on the general grounds that the new estates thus proposed to be formed would be too small and too expensive to manage. For this reason no work was begun on the Karatoa or the Bamni, two small rivers in the west of the district.

¹From the narrative of Buchanan Hamilton it is fairly clear that in 1809 the river was flowing through part of this thana. This evidence, however, was too indefinite to warrant resumption.

Statistics of Resumptions.

Rivers.	No. of cases.	Cases dropped.		Estates formed.	Assets.	Revenue.
		By Settlement Officer.	By Board of Revenue.			
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Sankosh	8	..	..	821-824, 872-875 ..	6,241 13 0	3,286 0 0
Dharla	10	..	10	816-820, 825-828 ..	3,597 9 0	2,463 10 0
Teesta	65	14	3	848, 849-863, 865-868, 870, 871, 885, 886, 888-899, 913-917, 921-927.	21,375 13 0	17,714 8 0
Dudkumar	6	6	..	....	..	..
Gangadhar	2	2	..	....	..	..
Brahmaputra	15	3	6	842, 912, 918, 919, 920, 931.	17,765 13 0	10,812 0 0
Ratnai	4	..	..	812-815 ..	325 7 6	248 5 0
Mara Teesta	8	1	6	836 ..	43 12 0	31 0 0
Gazaria	4	1	1	900, 901 ..	1,514 10 0	1,060 0 0
Bangali	8	1	..	877-879, 880-883 ..	1,636 6 0	1,184 4 0
Mara Manash	1	..	..	884 ..	502 7 0	352 0 0
Manash	2	..	..	869, 876 ..	700 9 0	491 0 0
Total	142	28	26			37,642 11 0

Diara Estates formed during Settlement.

River.	Estate No.	Name of estate.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Sankosh.</i>				Rs. a. p.	
Police-station Bhurungamari.	821	Diara Mahal Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandi.	1,623-53	1,949 0 0	Revenue assessed at 45 per cent. of the assets under a special order of the Board.
	822	Diara Mahal Bama Sankar Chakravorty.	26-41	47 0 0	
	823	Diara Mahal Jitendra Narain Deb.	74-66	182 0 0	
	824	Diara Mahal Raja Pravat Chandra Barua.	21-86	36 0 0	
<i>Ratnai.</i>					
Police-station Lalmanirhat.	812	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	51-23	58 6 0	
	813	Diara Mahal Dakhaja Mohan Roy Choudhury.	15-35	9 15 0	
	814	Diara Mahal Gopi Ballav Sen and others.	25-33	66 0 0	
	815	Diara Mahal Manmatha Nath Sen and others.	62-08	114 0 0	

River. 1	Estate. No. 2	Name of estate. 3	Area. 4	Revenue. 5	Remarks. 6
<i>Dharla.</i>				Rs. a. p.	
Police-station Lalmanir-hat.	816	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	238.47	168 4 0	
	817	Diara Mahal Dakhaja Mohan Roy Choudhury.	137.09	..	Kept without demand the area being undeveloped and yielding no profit.
	818	Diara Mahal Maharaja Jagadwipendra Narain Bhup Bahadur and others.	30.83	6 0 0	
	819	Diara Mahal Gopi Ballav Sen and others.	318.26	579 0 0	
	820	Diara Mahal Khan Sahib Khaimuddin Choudhury.	25.71	76 12 0	
Police-station Fulbari	825	Diara Mahal Maharaja Jagadwipendra Narain Bhup Bahadur.	1,538.65	1,158 0 0	
	826	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	554.61	410 10 0	
	827	Diara Mahal Maharaja Jagadwipendra Narain Bhup Bahadur.	39.53	40 0 0	
	828	Diara Mahal Debendra Narain Kuor and others.	32.88	25 0 0	
<i>Mora Tista.</i>					
Police-station Lalmanir-hat.	836	Diara Mahal Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	55.06	31 0 0	
<i>Tista.</i>					
Police-station Kaliganj	849	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	1,810.79	2,979 8 0	
	850	Diara Mahal Umarani Roy Choudhury.	40.66	78 0 0	
	851	Diara Mahal Debesh Gobinda Majumdar and others.	27.64	3 3 0	
	852	Diara Mahal Ram Prosad Sen	61.58	32 5 0	
	853	Diara Mahal Amiya Bala Debi	177.71	435 9 0	
	854	Diara Mahal Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.	114.94	389 8 0	
Police-station Gangachara.	855	Diara Mahal Bhabani Prosad Lahiri.	13.60	41 0 0	
	856	Diara Mahal Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	78.22	72 0 0	
	857	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Chandra Roy Choudhury.	74.47	..	Without demand.
	858	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	82.80	148 1 0	
	861	Diara Mahal Debesh Gobinda Majumdar.	186.64	103 0 0	
	862	Diara Mahal Jamila Khatun and others.	457.92	537 0 0	
	865	Diara Mahal Dakhaja Mohan Roy Choudhury.	484.18	272 6 0	
	866	Diara Mahal Amiya Bala Debi	260.90	216 1 0	
	868	Diara Mahal Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.	611.27	1,297 7 0	

River. 1	Estate. No. 2	Name of estate. 3	Area. 4	Revenue. 5	Remarks. 6
<i>Tista.</i>			Acres.	Rs. a. p.	
Police-station Kaunia	859	Diara Mahal Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	469.48	496 11 0	
	860	Diara Mahal Girindra Kumar Roy Choudhury and others.	108.41	64 0 0	
	863	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury.	79.58	218 15 0	
	867	Diara Mahal Debendra Narain Kuor and others.	207.95	300 0 0	
	870	Diara Mahal Raja Gopal Lal Roy Bahadur.	74.14	52 15 0	
	871	Diara Mahal Giri Bala Debi ..	45.45	15 7 0	
<i>Sankosh.</i>					
Police-station Nagoswari	872	Diara Mahal Maharaja Srish Chadra Nandi.	235.13	381 0 0	
	873	Diara Mahal Bimalendu Roy	270.24	318 0 0	
	874	Diara Mahal Prativa Bala Debi	56.10	87 0 0	
	875	Diara Mahal Gouri Bala Debi	194.85	286 0 0	
<i>Tista.</i>					
Police-station Lalmanir-hat.	888	Diara Mahal Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	211.92	463 8 0	
	889	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury.	28.06	78 6 0	
	890	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	249.70	149 10 0	
	891	Diara Mahal Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.	161.74	142 10 0	
	892	Diara Mahal Giri Bala Debi ..	21.48	1 0 0	
	893	Diara Mahal Purnendu Narain Roy.	137.74	188 0 0	
	894	Diara Mahal Akbar Hossain Choudhury.	12.80	9 3 0	
	895	Diara Mahal Md. Isak Mia ..	27.04	3 0 0	
	896	Diara Mahal Sarat Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	112.41	126 0 0	
	897	Diara Mahal Nirupama Debi ..	104.63	138 9 0	
	898	Diara Mahal Saroj Bandhu Bhaduri.	25.32	20 3 0	
	899	Diara Mahal Girendra Kumar Roy Choudhury.	70.27	73 0 0	
Police-station Pargachha	885	Diara Mahal Suniti Bala Debi and others.	136.25	430 1 0	
	886	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury.	189.71	258 11 0	
Police-station Kishoreganj.	848	Diara Mahal Raja Mahendra Ranjan Roy Choudhury.	978.01	1,394 14 0	
Police-station Gai-bandha.	922	Diara Mahal Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore Bahadur.	39.02	31 0 0	

River.	Estate No.	Name of estate.	Area.	Revenue.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Tista.</i>			Acres.	Rs. a. p.	
Police-station Sundar-ganj.	913	Diara Mahai Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	312·83	794 14 0	
	914	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury.	260·47	927 10 0	
	915	Diara Mahal Suniti Bala Debi and others.	11·32	33 8 0	
	916	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury and others.	15·84	65 5 0	
	917	Diara Mahal Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore Bahadur.	593·40	416 0 0	
Police-station Chilmari	921	Ditto	464·46	905 0 0	
Police-station Ulipur ..	923	Diara Mahal Manindra Chandra Roy Choudhury and others.	208·27	664 5 0	
	924	Diara Mahal Raja Gopal Lal Roy Bahadur.	937·71	1,566 0 0	
	925	Diara Mahal Bhupendra Narain Roy Choudhury.	30·61	98 12 0	
	926	Ditto	97·44	188·13 0	
	927	Diara Mahal Ashutosh Lahiri and others.	250·12	793 10 0	
<i>Brahmaputra.</i>					
Police-station Kurigram	942	Diara Mahal Bimalendu Roy	265·84	316 0 0	
Police-station Chilmari	931	Diara Mahal Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy.	1,712·01	1,441 0 0	Diara resumption proceedings confirmed—assessment proceedings awaiting confirmation. Under a special order of the Board Sandy areas in khas possession of Kasimbazar Raj Wards stato have been excluded from assessment and the estate allowed a profit at 40 per cent. of the assets.
Police-station Rahumari	912	Ditto	4,169·03	6,632 0 0	
Police-station Ulipur ..	918	Ditto	1,498·90	1,113 0 0	
	919	Diara Mahal Bimalendu Roy ..	588·84	559 0 0	
	920	Diara Mahal Raja Provat Chandra Barua Bahadur.	914·83	751 0 0	
<i>Manas.</i>					
Police-station Phulchhari.	869	Diara Mahal Char Choybhagin Gayraha.	91·87	174 0 0	
Police-station Saghatta	876	Diara Mahal Santhalia Gayraha	97·21	317 0 0	
<i>Bangali.</i>					
Police-station Gobindaganj.	877	Diara Mahal Char Baman Hazra Gayraha.	24·48	34 3 0	
Police-station Saghatta	878	Diara Mahal Char Uzirapara ..	28·09	43 1 0	
	879	Diara Mahal Char Panthamari Gayraha.	87·48	103 0 0	
	880	Diara Mahal Char Chandpara Digar.	103·05	127 7 0	
	881	Diara Mahal Char Hasilkandi Gayraha.	225·31	642 0 0	
	882	Diara Mahal Char Jalal Tair ..	11·75	19 9 0	
	883	Diara Mahal Char Falia Digar	208·42	215 0 0	
<i>Mara Manas.</i>					
Police-station Gobindaganj and Phulchhari.	884	Diara Mahal Char Rasulpur Gayraha.	196·27	352 0 0	
<i>Gazaria.</i>					
Police-station Phulchhari	900	Ditto	1,089·20	1,020 0 0	
	901	Diara Mahal Char Pipalia ..	21·53	40 0 0	

166. Jamabandi programme.—The jamabandi programme was not unduly heavy. The number of estates, apart from the newly created diara mahals, subject to periodical settlement is 35 covering an area of approximately 8 square miles. Of these 27 are temporarily-settled and 8 Government estates. Nine estates were not taken up of which estate No. 641 was a fishery right, Nos. 809 and 811 were relinquished acquired lands the tenants of which had been recorded as non-occupancy raiyats in 1933. As no enhancement was possible under section 113 of the Tenancy Act, the jamabandi was postponed until 1938. Estate No. 425 was diluviated and estate No. 547 was a small town mahal in Mahiganj the tenants of which were recorded as *dakhalkars* with *meadi* leases expiring in 1957. In addition to this programme fair rents were settled for 3 resumed lakheraj lands and for 88 newly created diara estates (dealt with in the previous section). The estates were small and gave rise to no very difficult problems. The cases fall into three groups: estates resumed out of the dried up bed of the river Tista and its branches; miscellaneous estates purchased or acquired by Government and the resumed lakheraj lands.

167. Previously resumed estates.—A number of resumptions under Regulation II of 1819 were made in thanas Domar, Dimla, Jaldhaka, Hatibandha, Lalmonirhat and Ulipur in the early part of the 19th century, out of the beds of various channels of the Mara Tista, Buri Tista and Ghoramara rivers all of which formed part of the main Tista system. The first group of cases arose out of a report by the kanungo of pargana Kazirhat to the effect that several zemindars were enjoying extensive accretions to their estates as a result of the drying up of the Buri Tista from Chhatnai Balapara to Dawabari and Nohali. Amins were deputed by the Collector in 1827 to make maps and submit reports. After numerous modifications a large area was resumed by a decree of the Revenue Courts in 1835. Other cases in the same system of rivers were instituted and confirmed but the civil court litigation lingered on until 1842. Apparently no releases were made. The tauzi bundles of these estates are very defective and the most important early records such as the amins' maps are nearly all missing;

their history had to be gleaned from the correspondence files and from one or two of the later robokaries. It is fairly certain that as a result of the missing papers combined with the rather casual jamabandi that appears to have been made in the past, a good deal of Government revenue has been diverted. In tauzi No. 326 for instance a large area was found missing from the estate and was eventually identified as land in possession of the neighbouring permanently-settled proprietors. Another cause of loss of revenue in the past was the failure to make proper periodic enquiries about diluviated lands on account of which the revenue had been reduced. In all the previous settlements of rent assessment was made on classification of lands. In the majority of cases these classes are no longer recognised in the locality and the assessment has become in the course of time, a lump rental. In some cases however where a proper jamabandi had been made, classes of land were still recognised as bearing different rates; these were followed, in a simplified form.

Previous classification.	Present classification.
Awal (1st class land)	... Dala
Dwaium (2nd class land)	} Danga
Chhaium (3rd class land)	
Chhahrum (4th class land)	
Bastu (homestead)	... Bastu
Bamboo	} Danga Patit.
Thatching grass	
Patit (fallow)	
Sand	... Sand.

The general tendency however is for assessment on classes of land to merge into lump rentals and it is doubtful if they can be perpetuated beyond the present settlement. Enhancement on lump rentals was made under section 30(b) of the Tenancy Act. The price

lists of the decennial period preceding the present settlement and preceding the previous settlement, were compared and justified an enhancement in all cases but enhancements were not actually made unless the incidence of rent for similar lands of the adjacent permanently-settled estates exceeded the incidence of rent in the temporarily-settled estate. Rent was fixed for all classes of tenants. Objections under section 104E) were rare and occurred only as regards status in one or two cases.

168. Purchased and acquired estates.

—These were a number of small miscellaneous estates. Some resumptions of invalid lakheraj lands were made in 1840 and 1841 in Nageswari, Chilmari and Gobindaganj and were permanently-settled after resumption. The estates in Nageswari and Chilmari were subsequently diluviated and the proprietors defaulted in the revenue. They were then purchased by Government. In Gobindaganj the proprietors refused to take settlement and so the mahal was let out in farm. One of the estates (No. 424, Khas Mahal Berubari) had been a persistent source of litigation for many years as it had never been properly surveyed and was always either encroached on by the neighbouring proprietors or was encroaching in their lands. The matter was eventually settled during the operation by relaying the thak chak and demarcating it by pillars. The only town estate is Khas Mahal Bhutia in Mahiganj. There is no documentary evidence of its origin but it is supposed to have originated in a grant of land by the Fatehpur zemindar

to a group of Bhutanese merchants before the decennial settlement. When the Bhutanese wars broke out they fled to their country and their lands escheated to Government. Some small temporarily-settled estates were created in Gaibandha, Bhurungamari and Saidpur out of old acquired brick-fields. Although they had been sold by the Collector the proprietor was still being treated as an ijaradar and the lands were entered in Register 32, Part III. This was corrected during jamabandi. In one or two cases ijara settlements had to be abolished on account of the excessive subinfeudation that had crept in, pushing up the raiyat rentals to an absurd level. Tauzi 716, 717 for instance, were settled with an ijaradar at Rs. 31-11 and Rs. 123-8 without regular jama-bandi. Under the ijaradar was a *dar-ijaradar* holding at Rs. 169 and under him a *daradar* ijaradar paying Rs. 274-14. The actual cultivators paid Rs. 353-2 at the extremely high incidence of Rs. 6-9 per bigha. The rents were reduced and the estates kept khas.

169. Resumed lakheraj lands.—

There were three cases of invalid lakheraj lands resumed under Regulation II of 1819. These were assessed under section 8 of Regulation XIX of 1793 read with Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act. Under the regulations settlement was offered to the proprietors at 50 per cent. of the assets which were determined under Chapter X by attesting the rent roll and maintaining, as fair and equitable, the rents recorded during the regular attestation proceedings—

Class of estate.	Settled with proprietor.	Managed direct by Government.	Let out in farm.	Old revenue.	New revenue.	Increase.
				Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Government ..	..	6	1	611 1 9	922 10 0	311 8 3
Temporarily-settled proprietary.	*13	5	5	4,194 0 2	6,400 8 0	2,206 7 10
Permanently-settled ..	3	..	..	Nil Returned lakheraj.	582 0 0	582 0 0
Total ..	16	11	6	4,805 1 11	7,905 2 0	3,100 0 1

* Includes one estate of Mymensingh which was omitted from the Mymensingh operation and surveyed and resettled in 1935.

Chapter XI—Case Work.

170. Programme.—The work consisted of two parts, the settlement of fair rent and the decision of issues arising under sections 105A, 106, 108 and 115B. The principles involved in the rent problems were settled as the work progressed whilst the various issues raised had almost all been dealt with at one time or another during attestation, 103A objections or final janch, and it was seldom found necessary to depart from the policy which had been followed then. As a rule fresh evidence was cited and the cases were dealt with on their merits. The work was started by mid July 1934 when a case work camp was opened at Lalmonirhat to deal with cases from Block A and the adjacent portions of Blocks B and C. A second Case Work Officer was appointed in October 1937 whilst one of the Diara Officers also did part-time case work from that date. Except for Lalmonirhat, all the camps were held either at subdivisional headquarters or sadar though sub-camps were occasionally held for particular purposes. At the close of 1937 the work decreased rapidly owing to the proposed tenancy legislation which, when it became law, would suspend the provisions of the Tenancy Act relating to enhancement or reduction of rent. It was proposed to apply this legislation with effect from the date of publication of the Bill (27th August 1937). Parties were therefore warned that they could only proceed at their own risk after that date.¹

171. Institution of cases.—Applications under section 105 and complaints under section 106 were generally carelessly filed and were found full of mistakes. It was necessary to institute an initial checking branch at Sadar to scrutinise them and return them for emendation where necessary. Many were barred by limitation as the special limitation of four months fixed by the Tenancy Act cannot be condoned under section 5 of the Limitation Act. In general some latitude is allowable in the way of substitution of parties, etc., in applications under section 105 but cases under section 106 are suits *ab initio* and the Code of Civil Procedure must be strictly applied. It took the Revenue Agents and other legal practitioners some little time to realise this and in

the meantime many cases failed on technical points.

Cases under section 108 were few and far between. Cases under section 115B were mainly started as a result of errors discovered in the office.

172. Enhancement under section 30.—The bulk of the cases dealt with related to applications under section 105 for the enhancement of occupancy holdings on the ground of a rise in the price of staple food crops [section 30(b)]. The other sub-sections [30(a), (c) and (d)] were usually mentioned in the application but hardly ever pressed during the hearing. As a general rule, the plaintiff had little difficulty in showing that no enhancement had taken place for 15 years during the currency of the recorded rent. Complications ensued however when the tenancy was found to have been split up and the rent apportioned. Several such cases occurred and the Case Work Officer had first to come to a finding as to whether fresh tenancies had been created or whether the old tenancy still subsisted in law. Another claim often made by the plaintiff was that the *hajaj* or *mahakup* rent (i.e., rent left in abeyance) should be added to the fair rent settled under section 105. This was always refused on the ground that it was not a claim to enhancement but should have been dealt with by a specific issue under section 105A (a) as it was, in effect a claim that *hajaj* formed part of the rent and was therefore an effort to impugn the accuracy of the record.² The enhancement allowable by a comparison of the price lists was always large, rising in some cases as high as 7 annas in the rupee. The enhancements actually allowed, however, were generally between one and two annas in the rupee. Fortunately, the Act gives the Case Work Officer ample power to adjust the enhancement reasonably.

173. Large number of compromises.—A feature of the cases was the large number of *ex parte* settlements. Either the landlord did not proceed with the case or the tenant did not appear in court to contest it. Most of such cases were the result of settlements out of court. This was probably an outcome

¹The same problem arose at attestation when, as a rule, *hajaj* was not recognised as rent. In effect it is an ingenious device to defeat the provisions of section 29 (b) of the Act.

of the moderate enhancements generally allowed. Only in one case was there evidence of enhancement proceedings leading to ill-feeling and this was when an estate clearly broke faith with its tenants. In 1932 illegal enhancements were found in Kakina Estate. As the rents were not excessive and the tenants had no complaints the Settlement Officer allowed them to be recorded without formal proceedings under section 109C on the understanding that no applications would be filed under section 105. In spite of this, the State authorities filed over five-hundred cases to the intense indignation of the tenants. It was necessary to ask for the intervention of the Collector before these were withdrawn.

174. The problem of the tenures.—The settlement of rent of the Rangpur jotedars gave rise to endless trouble. The rent of a tenure is to be settled under section 7, and as, in Rangpur it was never possible to prove a "customary rate" and very seldom possible to prove any contract governing enhancement, the question generally resolved itself into what allowance was to be given to the tenure-holder. The view of the settlement authorities was that in settling the allowance the Case Work Officer is given, by the Act, considerable latitude. Unfortunately for this view there is a High Court ruling (49 C. L. J. 71) which suggests as a reasonable distribution that after deducting 10 per cent. as collection charges the rent should be fixed at 60 per cent. of the net assets. It is doubtful if this decision was ever intended to impose a mechanical distribution but in his earliest cases the Special Judge showed that he did not intend to deviate from it. The result has been disastrous from the point of view of the tenure-holders. The gross assets of the tenures, on paper, were often four or five times the rent and enhancement on the 60 per cent.—40 per cent. basis meant that rents were doubled or tripled. The extreme inequity of this—though it was eased as far as possible by progressive enhancements—arose from the fact that the collections of the tenure-holders amounted, as a rule to little more than 60 per cent. of the proper assets and also to the fact that by every historical view the jotedars had originally been raiyats, and as has been noted elsewhere, the watertight definitions of the Tenancy Act had imposed a great hardship on them. In view of the

serious effects of the enhancement proceedings on the jotedars the problem was discussed with the Hon. Member, Board of Revenue, who eventually suggested that the enhancement provisions of section 30 might be applied to tenures. The Special Judge, however, has refused to accept this on the ground that the sections legally applicable to tenures and no others must be applied. It is clear that within the four walls of the Tenancy Act, the legal view will always prevail and the special position of the Rangpur jotedars will never be fully appreciated. Legislation is the only solution.

175. Application of section 52.—Very few of the claims for alteration of rent on the ground of alteration in area were successful. The onus on the landlord who claims an increase is very heavy. Even when he is able to prove that the lands in question were actually surveyed before settlement it is further necessary to prove that area was the basis of settlement and that the area settled has been exceeded. This point proved difficult for most of the landlords. Another point on which their evidence frequently broke down was the standard of measurement, which they are bound first of all to prove. It was noticeable that landlords frequently relied on a well-known ruling (40 C.L.J. 288) to urge that where no standard of measurement was given in his papers or in the kabuliyat, the standard bigha of 80 × 80 cubits of 18" should be assumed. This presumption however applies only to estates surveyed by Government and could not be allowed. Only the zemindars of Islamabad, Muktipur and the Tagore Raj achieved any measure of success in the enhancement cases under this section.

176. Cooch Behar holding maps.—The most original attempt to take advantage of section 52 was made by the Cooch Behar estate which had prepared maps of individual holdings purporting to show the groups of plots comprised in each holding. At first they refused to produce the maps of the holdings adjacent to those where enhancement was sought. Eventually they did so and when these were compared and comparison also made with the cadastral map it was found that no effort at proper orientation had been made and overlaps and gaps occurred regularly. In some cases plots had been completely

misplaced in order to enable the amin to fit the holding map in one sheet. The maps were thus found useless for the purpose of section 52 and the estate cases failed.

177. Issues under section 105 A.—Almost all the issues from clause (a) to clause (g) were raised at one time or another. The bulk of the cases however were concerned with mokarari and nishkar status or with the claims of tenure-holders to be recorded as raiyats. In a large number of cases the landlords were able to rebut the mokarari status, which had been established at attestation by the production of twenty years rent receipts, by producing papers showing that the origin of the tenancy was subsequent to the Permanent Settlement. In general landlords found it difficult to disprove nishkar claims even when the existence of the grant had to be presumed from the history of the nishkar. It must be admitted that with the prevailing slackness in the management of the zemindaries the scales are weighted against the landlord. High Court rulings 31 C.W.N. 135 and 28 C.W.N. 143 were frequently applied in these cases. The frequent claims that tenants recorded as tenure-holders were really raiyats and the manner in which the superior landlords fought these claims were a natural result of the harsh treatment meted out to the Rangpur jotedars by the legislature. When the plaintiff could prove the original purpose for which the tenancy was let out, there was no difficulty in arriving at the correct status. This, however, was not always possible and in such cases where the area was over 100 standard bighas, the presumption under section 5(5) was in favour of the tenure status. There is, of course, no contrary presumption. Another difficulty which prevented many jotedars successfully claiming raiyati status was the existence on the land of under tenants who had been granted or tacitly admitted to have held occupancy rights. The majority of these claims by the tenure-holders had to be rejected.

178. Suits under section 106.—The insertion of section 105A in the Act in 1907 has resulted in most of the complicated issues which were formerly determined by regular suits under section 106 being disposed of along with the proceedings under section 105. This has resulted in much more rapid and satisfactory disposal of the case work and issues under section 106 are now chiefly confined to (1) challenging the recorded status, (2) transfer of plots from one tenancy to another, (3) correction of names in the khatians. The only cases giving rise to any trouble were the applications by town-dwellers to be recorded as raiyats or tenure-holders in respect of their homesteads lying within the municipality. Section 182 was sought to be applied in most cases. The unsatisfactory state of the law has been discussed in paragraph 139 and the Case Work Officers were inclined to take a more literal interpretation of the sections then was taken during attestation, i.e., they did not always insist that the homestead should be used for agricultural purposes. In this instance the Special Judge has upheld the view which was applied during the attestation period.

179. Statement showing the disposal of cases under sections 105, 106, 115B and 108, Bengal Tenancy Act, up to 31st May 1938 :—

—	Under section 105.	Under section 106.	Under section 115B.	Under section 108.
(1) Number of cases filed.	32,804	1,692	610	6
(2) Number of cases disposed of.	24,971	1,262	540	6
(3) Number of cases pending.	7,893	430	70	..

180. Results of appeals against cases under sections 105 and 106, Bengal Tenancy Act, up to 31st May 1936 :—

District.	Nature of case.	Number of appeals filed.	Number of appeals disposed of.	Number of appeals pending.	Result of appeals.			
					Upheld.	Modified.	Revised.	Returned for retrial.
Rangpur ..	105	260	209	51	113	50	22	24
Rangpur ..	106	87	53	34	40	7	4	2

Chapter XII—Computation and Recovery.

Computation.

181. **Computed costs.**—The total amount recoverable from the landlords and tenants was calculated at Rs. 34,59,276 as per statement below :—

I. Total gross cost of settlement as calculated from actual and estimated expenditure ..	Rs. 38,46,593
Add—Interest at 13 per cent. of the total cost including indirect charges ..	5,00,058
Add—Proportionate cost of loss of Air Survey in "A" Block of Malda ..	90,525
	(A)44,37,176
II. Deduction—	
(a) Receipt from sale of stock ..	29,827
(b) Cost of area covered by diara and jamabandi ..	1,31,120
(c) Proportionate cost of loss of air survey of "A" Block Malda to be borne by Government ..	90,525
	(B)2,51,472
(d) State's share at 1-5th of A-B excluding (c) ..	7,46,616
	9,98,088
	34,39,088
III. Add cost of boundary marks ..	20,188
Total recoverable amount ..	34,59,276

The estimate is based on the verified expenditure as far as available when the last recovery proposal was sent to Government and also on an estimate of probable expenditure for the remaining stages of the work yet to be done. The total computed demand is Rs. 37,23,406. This, however, is liable to variation as a proposal for reducing the rates in sandy and jungly areas is under consideration.

182. **Basis of calculation.**—The apportionment of costs was made on an area basis at the rate of Rs. 1-8 per acre in Blocks A and B and Rs. 1-9 per acre in Blocks C and D and in the diara portions of B Block. Separate apportionment statements were prepared for each block in which the full details were published.¹ Calculations were made to the nearest anna. Areas of less than one acre were charged as one acre but

for broken areas over an acre there was no charge for the broken portion if less than half an acre. A minimum charge for any tenancy recorded in one village was fixed at annas 4.

183. **Variation from block to block.**—As a result of representations to Government and discussions at the various Settlement Conferences some variations in apportionment occurred from block to block. These are embodied in the apportionment statements but the most important are summarised below :—

- (a) In Blocks A and B landlords paid annas 14 per acre and occupiers annas 10 per acre. In Blocks C and D and the diara block they paid annas 12-6 each.
- (b) In Block A under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48 (c) (i) and (ii) paid at a fixed rate of annas 4 per interest; other under-raiyats did not pay anything. In Block B the first-class of under-raiyats paid a maximum charge of annas 6 per interest and the second a fixed charge of annas 4. In Blocks C and D the first class of under-raiyats paid at the ordinary rate of annas 12-6 per acre and the second class at 6 annas per interest.
- (c) In Blocks A and B jalkardars were not assessed. In other blocks they paid at the rate of half an anna per rupee of rent multiplied by number of years the jalkar had to run and divided by 16. The minimum charge for jalkar was annas 4 in C Block and annas 12 in D Block and the diara block.
- (d) In Blocks A and B usufructuary mortgages were exempted from assessment but in the remaining block they paid the costs if the mortgagee had 16 years or more to run. If they had less than 16 years to run the cost was apportioned proportionately to the period to run between mortgagee and mortgagor.

¹(The apportionment statements are reproduced in Appendix X.)

It cannot be denied that these variations in the method of apportionment formed an unsatisfactory feature of the operations. The final method was probably more equitable and more suited to the system of tenure prevalent in Rangpur than the method adopted at the outset. It is certain however that the changes gave rise to a good deal of discontent especially amongst tenants who possessed lands in different Blocks and found themselves more heavily assessed in one block than in another. The corresponding relief to those over assessed in the early blocks was overlooked, as perhaps was inevitable. A standard apportionment throughout would have been more satisfactory.

Recovery.

184. **Programme.**—The table appended shows the date on which recovery was started in each thana and the date of starting the recovery of the last mauza of the thana :—

Name of thana.	Date of starting recovery in the thana.	Date of starting recovery of the last mauza of the thana.
1. Lalmonirhat ..	3-1-1934	2-2-1938
2. Kaliganj ..	10-1-1934	28-9-1937
3. Ulipur ..	15-1-1934	26-10-1938
4. Kurigram ..	22-1-1934	20-9-1938
5. Hatibandha ..	29-3-1934	29-7-1935
6. Bhurungamari ..	29-3-1934	17-3-1936
7. Phulbari ..	2-7-1934	22-8-1936
8. Nageswari ..	20-6-1934	18-12-1937
9. Balpur ..	10-12-1934	15-5-1935
10. Nilphamari ..	10-12-1934	20-4-1935
11. Domar ..	14-1-1935	15-6-1935
12. Dimla ..	4-2-1935	24-6-1935
13. Jaldhaka ..	4-2-1935	27-9-1937
14. Kishoreganj ..	30-6-1935	20-7-1937
15. Rangpur ..	17-10-1935	5-11-1937
16. Gangachara ..	6-1-1936	3-7-1937
17. Pirgachha ..	13-1-1936	9-11-1937
18. Galbandha ..	21-7-1936	4-4-1938
19. Sundarganj ..	30-7-1936	8-9-1938
20. Kaunia ..	26-8-1936	28-2-1938
21. Sashatte ..	3-10-1936	27-1-1938
22. Phulohhari ..	24-11-1936	12-4-1938
23. Badaganj ..	4-1-1937	16-6-1937
24. Gobindaganj ..	25-1-1937	7-12-1937
25. Mithapukur ..	12-7-1937	7-2-1938
26. Palashbari ..	19-7-1937	28-8-1937
27. Pirganj ..	19-7-1937	28-1-1938
28. Sadullapur ..	29-7-1937	6-10-1937
29. Chilmari ..	2-8-1937	24-9-1938
30. Rahumari ..	5-9-1938	16-9-1938

185. **Recovery considerably dislocated.**—The proper procedure is for recovery to follow steadily and progressively in the wake of the operations. In Rangpur however many unforeseen difficulties occurred which considerably dislocated the normal recovery programme. In the first place the delay in the survey of the flood affected areas meant that adjacent villages which should have been taken up at about the same time for recovery, was dealt with at long intervals. In addition delays were caused by the protracted resumption and lakheraj enquiries whilst the boundary difficulties of Cooch Behar, Assam and Mymensingh, the solution of which had to be approved by Government, involved further very extensive delays. As a result recovery was disjointed rather than smooth and it was only in D Block and parts of C Block that proceedings could be initiated at the time when the principal harvest was put on the market. Another point which emerged very clearly was that the cultivators especially showed a reluctance to pay if the recovery operations did not follow closely on the survey operations. This was particularly marked in the collections from D Block which were much more satisfactory than those from Block A.

186. **Little opposition to collections.**—Compared with other recent settlements there can be no general complaints of organised opposition to the payment of settlement costs in Rangpur. There was some organised opposition in Kurigram and in police-station Pirgachha at the outset, but it quickly died down. In general the tenants showed a commendable eagerness to obtain their maps and khatians the value of which they had quickly come to appreciate. Amongst the landlords delays in payment were due to financial stringency rather than unwillingness to pay.

187. **Use of Sadar accounts.**—Sadar accounts were allowed almost as a matter of course to assesses whose costs exceeded Rs. 1,000. The landlords availed themselves widely of this privilege which was not only economical for them but enabled the Settlement Officer to keep in easy personal touch with the collections involving large sums. Instalments were freely granted though efforts were made to ensure that no instalments

should continue beyond 1940. A rule was made that instalments should not be granted for demands of less than Rs. 100. This rule however was frequently relaxed. In general, payment of instalments was good and up to date the concession has been justified by results. The only setback experienced was when the District Revenue authorities proceeded to apply section 99 of the Cess Act widely and to attach a large number of estates. For a period, collection from these zemindars was completely stopped. Then, on the representation of the Settlement authorities, it was agreed that settlement costs should also be collected before the estates were released. After this arrangement had been in force for some time it was cancelled by the Board of Revenue. As a result collections again fell off and many of the released estates fell into arrears with their instalments.

188. Difficulties in the char areas.—As in other stages of the work the char areas afforded particular difficulties in the matter of collection. In the first place, the tenants consist largely of Eastern Bengal "Bhatias" who evinced a characteristic disinclination to pay Government dues. In the second place they are much more impermanent than the dwellers on the mainland and changes in the ownership of the holdings are frequent thus making it more difficult to enforce payment by applying the penal provisions of the law where amicable methods have failed. It is probable that the irrecoverable amounts from the char areas will be considerable.

189. Employment of certificates.—The statement appended shows the issue and execution of certificates up to May 1938. Although the procedure has been widely used the results have not been altogether satisfactory. This

is partly due to wide use of this procedure by the district authorities which had familiarised the tenants with the various methods of avoiding or delaying its applications and partly to the unsuitability of a temporary settlement staff in dealing with cases of this nature. If settlement proceedings are to become a regular institution the creation of a permanent cadre of peons should be tackled at once. The opportunities for dishonesty in serving and executing certificates are very great and the temptation is frequently too much for a temporary peon who is in constant fear of the termination of his engagement due to lack of work. In fact several bad cases of corruption came to light during the course of the proceedings in Rangpur.

190. Applications of rule 514.—The only cases in which a legal difficulty in applying the certificate procedure arose, were when the dues were sought to be realised from transferees under rule 514 of the Survey and Settlement Manual. Some of the cases were fought on the ground that the settlement costs were a general charge and not a charge on the land. For this interpretation of section 114 of the Tenancy Act the High Court Ruling 33 C.L.J. 399 was relied on. This ruling is at variance with rule 514 of the Survey and Settlement Manual and has been contradicted by a resolution of the Board of Revenue (No. 12644 C.P. of 25th August 1935). On the strength of this the claim was rejected both by the Settlement authorities and by the Collector. The point, however, has been cleared by a subsequent ruling of the High Court reported in 64 C.L.J. 126 which supports the decision of the Board of Revenue and makes the persons in possession of the land liable for the settlement costs.

Statement regarding employment of certificates.

Nature of cases.	Cases filed up to 31st March 1839.		Satisfied.				Immovable property was sold and sale subsequently set aside.		Remission.		Pending.	
	Number of cases.	Amount.	Under section 7.	Under distress warrants.	Number of cases.	Amount.	Number of cases.	Amount.	Number of cases.	Amount.	Number of cases.	Amount.
•		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Below Rs. 5 ..	14,610	44,815 14 0	6,058	6,474	180	805 10 0	36	112 14 0	1,178	1,932 10 0	672	2,588 1 0
Rs. 5 and above ..	10,514	4,23,524 2 0	3,715	4,551	294	15,828 15 0	70	2,712 12 6	1	5 0 0	1,873	91,836 5 6
Total ..	25,124	4,68,340 0 0	9,773	11,025	484	16,632 9 0	106	2,825 10 6	1,179	1,937 10 0	2,545	94,424 6 6

Chapter XIII—Epilogue.

191. The Training Camps.—The annual cold weather training camps were pleasant additions to the normal routine settlement work. They were held from the beginning of December to the middle or end of March for the purpose of instructing junior members of the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Services, in land revenue and survey work. The sites chosen were Saptibari (near Lalmonirhat) in 1931-32, Saidpur in 1932-33 and 1933-34 and Radarganj in 1934-35. I.C.S. Officers and Provincial Officers attended for the full period. Police Officers, who were sent for the first time after 7 years in 1932-33, stayed two months only. There were also a few probationers in the Court of Wards and one or two young zemindars at each camp.

During the first month the camp was joint. Artificial villages of about 50 acres each were traversed and after the Under Training Officers had been shown how to cut morabbas, run chain lines and plot field boundaries on the 16" traverse plots, they were divided into groups of four, allotted a "village" each and left to do kistwār, khanapuri and bujharat with the help of an experienced instructor amin and under the inspection of a senior kanungo. This comprised the morning's field work. Three or four afternoons a week the Settlement Officer delivered lectures on the field work and procedure, revenue history and the Bengal Tenancy Act. The lectures were arranged to keep a little ahead of the programme of field work. Additional lectures were given by the Officer-in-charge of the Bengal Traverse Party on theodolite survey, and by the Director of Land Records, during his inspection, on various aspects of revenue law. After the training in P. 70 methods had been completed the Under Training Officers were taught how to survey on photographs, duplicate copies being obtained for the purpose from the Air Survey Company, Calcutta. From January they were sent to separate or split camps, where they did regular bujharat for about six weeks, under the special supervision of the halka kanungo and the Circle Officers. Then followed a short period of training in attestation. As this work is much more intricate than bujharat, they were not given revenue powers but did the work under

the eye of a Revenue Officer who corrected mistakes as they occurred and signed the khatians. After attestation the Provincial Officers, Court of Wards probationers and zemindars returned and continued bujharat whilst I.C.S. Officers were allotted to the circles and trained as Circle Officers. The last two or three days were spent at headquarters in studying the working of the Sadar office.

From all points of view Rangpur proved an ideal training area. The camping sites, especially at Lalmonirhat, were spacious and healthy, allowing, in addition to an open lay out of the tents, cook sheds, stables, etc., ample room for polo, football and hockey grounds. At Lalmonirhat and Saidpur the railway clubs and institutes offered facilities for tennis and golf whilst several enjoyable games of polo were played against the regiment stationed temporarily at Saidpur. Apart from the knowledge of revenue law which is necessarily acquired whilst dealing with the record-of-rights, the value of the training is undoubted. Most of the officers, including the Indian officers, were totally ignorant of village conditions, at the outset. After three months of camping away from the amenities of civil stations (all the split camps were far in the interior) they acquired a real appreciation of the villagers' point of view. It is devoutly to be hoped that settlement training will be made an integral part of the probationary course of every Government officer who is liable to be posted to a mufasssā station.

Conclusion.

192. Offices of the Settlement.—Whatever credit is due for the successful organisation of the operations, belongs to Mr. M. O. Carter, I.C.S., who took over charge from Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., in November 1931 and remained as Settlement Officer until August 1934. The principles which he formulated after active study of the land system of the district have been followed throughout whilst his personal popularity with the staff enabled the programme to be maintained during the first two years when retrenchment and consequent shortage of officers made heavy demands on the loyalty and ability of those who remained. I joined as Charge Officer in 1932 and was made Settlement Officer

in 1934, remaining in charge both of Rangpur and Dinajpur until October 1936 and of Rangpur alone until May 1937.

Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., acted as Settlement Officer for three months in 1931 and remained on as Charge Officer until March 1932 being responsible for the excellent organisation of the cadastral A Block. Babu Apurba Ranjan Barua acted as Attestation Charge Officer from April 1932 until July 1934. In spite of persistent ill-health he carried out an invaluable enquiry into the status of the Baharband jotedars and the early resumption proceedings. I am personally greatly indebted to Mr. F. O. Bell, I.C.S., for the very careful charge note he left of Block C and for the work he carried out as Assistant Settlement Officer in charge before I returned from leave in 1934, to Mr. A. B. Chatterji, I.C.S., for his organisation of Block D and to Babu S. N. Mitra who acted as Charge Officer attestation of Block C. Both these latter two officers had to bear more than their fair share of responsibility as the demands of the Dinajpur settlement prevented me from giving my full attention to Rangpur.

Of the headquarters staff special mention must be made of Babu Umesh Chandra Banerji, Headquarters Assistant Settlement Officer, who has worked loyally and hard at an exacting job, of Babu Nalini Prasanna Gupta, the cheerful and indefatigable technical adviser for whom no problem was too difficult and no work too tedious, and of Babu Upendra Kishore Mazumdar whose patience in searching for old records and whose organisation of the press have been unexceptionable.

Amongst the Assistant Settlement Officers of the field staff, special mention must be made of the devoted and loyal work of Babu Sachindra Mohan Guha

both in attesting the Baharband jotes and later in dealing with the diara resumption cases. Babu Durgapada Banerji did excellent work at attestation and final janch and Babu Ratindra Chandra Basu at final janch and case work. Of the Circle Officers, Babu Satyendra Nath Das Gupta, Babu Prafulla Chandra Mitra, Babu Bikash Chandra Ghosh and Babu Nishi Kanta Bose were outstanding.

It is perhaps invidious to select individual Revenue Officers and Kanungos for special mention, out of so large a staff of whom all, with very few exceptions, worked loyally and well in spite of the fact that their future was uncertain and Government appeared hesitant to sanction their pensions, which, to all who knew them intimately, they seemed so justly to have earned. I am conscious that in the following list there may be undeserved omissions. The men who impressed me particularly were—Babus Lalit Kumar Basu, Akshoy Kumar Mukharji, Dhananjoy Barua, Surendra Nath Das Gupta, Jyotish Chandra Chaudhury, Nripendra Nath Mukerji, Jagadish Chandra Bhattacharji, Manmatha Nath Ghosh Hazra, Kalipada Roy Chaudhury, Kalidas Mukerji, Himangshu Kumar Adhikari, Sudhir Chandra Bagdhan, Rebati Mohan Guha Thakurta, Suren Sur and Bhupen Banerji; Maulvis Samsuddin Kazi, Kobbat Ali, Badaruddin Ahmed, Abdul Ghani and Mr. R. L. De Silva.

Lastly, I should like to express my gratitude to the late Major J. B. Kindersley, D.S.O., M.C., I.C.S., and Rai Bahadur Bijoy Bihari Mukerji, who, as successive Directors of Land Records, were always ready by encouragement and advice to give me the benefit of their long experience of revenue work, and also to thank Major Sexton of the Bengal Traverse Party for the excellent manner in which he kept us supplied with sheets.

APPENDIX I.

Boundary notifications.

(a) *Cooch Behar Boundary.*

No. 364-T.R., dated Darjeeling, the 7th June 1935.

From—O. M. Martin, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. I/6-2284, dated the 17th July 1934, submitting a copy of the Report of the Rangpur-Cooch Behar Boundary Commission with a set of 16" final maps, in original, of the boundary in two volumes.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Governor in Council is pleased to adopt the report and the maps, as showing the correct boundary for the portions dealt with therein. The Regency Council, Cooch Behar, have also signified their adoption of the report and maps in similar terms.

3. I am also to say that with the concurrence of the Government of Assam, the Government of Bengal accept the recommendation made in the concluding portion of the report that Major Macdonald's pillar of 1875 should be adopted as representing the true trijunction of Cooch Behar, Rangpur and Goalpara.

4. I am to add that the Governor in Council desires that the thanks of Government should be conveyed to the boundary Commissioners for bringing the matter to an early close though it entailed heavy and strenuous work in the field all along the boundary.

5. The maps received with your letter are returned herewith.

No. 3230-Jur., dated Calcutta, the 16th March 1936.

From—Rai N. C. Sen Bahadur, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. I/43-3609, dated the 12th September 1935, submitting a copy of the report of the Boundary Commission on the demarcation of the chit lands or enclaves of Cooch Behar in Rangpur and thoses of Rangpur in Cooch Behar together with a volume of maps, in original, of the said demarcation.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Governor in Council is pleased to adopt the report and the maps as showing the correct boundary of the enclaves dealt with therein. The Regency Council, Cooch Behar, have also signified their adoption of the report and maps in similar terms.

3. I am to add that it is reported by the Cooch Behar State that the copy of the report and maps received by them does not bear the signature of the Boundary Commissioners and that the cost incurred by the State has not been included in the financial statement of

the report. I am to request that a signed copy of the report and maps may be forwarded to the State as early as possible. The cost incurred by the State may also be included in the copy of the report.

4. The maps received with your letter are returned herewith.

(b) *Assam Boundary.*

No. F. 360/36 Public, dated New Delhi, the 2nd March 1937.

Notification by—The Government of India, Home Department.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 60 of the Government of India Act, and in supersession of all previous notifications relating to the boundary between the districts of Rangpur (in Bengal) on one side and the districts of Goalpara and Garo Hills (in Assam) on the other, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to declare that the following shall be the boundary between the said districts:—

From the trijunction of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Goalpara at the north-east corner of village Dakshin Tilai (J. L. No. 18), police-station Bhurungamari, the boundary follows the eastern boundary of Dakshin Tilai, J. L. No. 18; northern and eastern boundaries of Bhurungamari, J. L. No. 51, eastern boundary of Bharater Chhara, J. L. No. 53, northern and eastern boundaries of Banur Kuthi, J. L. No. 64, eastern boundary of Parasuramerkuthi, J. L. No. 65, north-eastern boundary of Chhaubandha Khalisakuri, J. L. No. 66, northern and eastern boundaries of Mangalar Kuthi, J. L. No. 67, eastern boundaries of Kedar, J. L. No. 68, and Dakshin Baldia, J. L. No. 71, as laid down in the cadastral survey of seasons 1931-35. All these villages are in police-station Bhurungamari, district Rangpur.

Then along the south-eastern boundary of Bahar Kedar, J. L. No. 64, northern and eastern boundaries of Dhaluabari, J. L. No. 65, and Kachardara, J. L. No. 66, eastern boundary of Kachakata, J. L. No. 70, part of western, the northern and eastern boundaries of Dhanirampur, J. L. No. 71, eastern and southern boundaries of Balarhat, J. L. No. 72, eastern boundary of Kanvamati, J. L. No. 73, northern boundaries of Chaundaghari, J. L. No. 76, and Jhaukuthi, J. L. No. 77, northern and eastern boundaries of Pakhuria, J. L. No. 78, eastern boundaries of Kulamua Kalar Char, J. L. No. 79, Naravanpur, J. L. No. 81, Uttar Dhakdahar, J. L. No. 82, Dumardaha, J. L. No. 83 and Dakshin Dhakdahar, J. L. No. 84, as laid down in the cadastral survey of season 1931-35. All these villages are in police-station Nageswari, district Rangpur.

Then along the eastern boundary as laid down in the cadastral survey of 1931-35 of Pipulbari, J. L. No. 75, police-station Kurigram, district Rangpur.

Then along the eastern boundaries as laid down in the survey of 1931-35 of Mekurer Alga, J. L. No. 189, and Saheber Alga, J. L. No. 190, police-station Ulipur, district Rangpur.

Then along the eastern boundary of Kazaikata, J. L. No. 4, northern and eastern boundaries of Kaunjar Char, J. L. No. 5, north-eastern boundary of Dantbhanga, J. L. No. 7, eastern boundaries of Jhagrar Char, J. L. No. 8, Boalmari, J. L. No. 18, Saulmari, J. L. No. 19, Rahumari Alga, J. L. No. 22, Kalabari, J. L. No. 24, and eastern boundary of Pahartali, J. L. No. 37, as laid down in the cadastral survey of 1931-35, up to the trijunction of Rangpur, Goalpara and Garo Hills where the boundary between Rangpur and Goalpara terminates.

From the above trijunction the boundary between Rangpur and Garo Hills starts and passes along the eastern boundaries of Pahartali, J. L. No. 37, and Jauniar Char, J. L. No. 38, as laid down in the cadastral survey of 1931-35 till it meets the trijunction of Rangpur, Mymensingh and Garo Hills at the extreme south-east corner of village Jauniar Char, J. L. No. 38. All the above villages are in police-station Rahumari, district Rangpur.

(c) *Mymensingh Boundary.*

No. 3347-Jur., dated Calcutta, the 28th February 1936.

From—Rai N. C. Sen Bahadur, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

To—The Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. XXXIV/17-6028, dated the 9th May 1935, regarding the boundary between the districts of Rangpur and Mymensingh, and to say that on a reconsideration of the facts explained in your letter, Government agrees with you that the boundary between the two districts should follow the boundary adopted at the Mymensingh Settlement subject to the following alterations:—

Where there is at present sand or water the Mymensingh boundary should be relaid on the maps and adopted as the village boundary. Where there is cultivation the Mymensingh boundary should be relaid and followed as modified by present possession.

2. I am to observe that the orders communicated above necessitate an amendment of the notifications, dated the 28th October 1874 and 23rd February 1875, defining the boundaries of the districts of Mymensingh and Rangpur, respectively. I am, therefore, to request that necessary draft notifications may be submitted at a very early date for publication in the Gazette.

3. I am to add that the principle of the mid-stream being taken as the boundary is not formally abandoned but it is merely held in abeyance in this case for the time being.

Note.—It was subsequently decided that no fresh notification was necessary (*vide* letter No. 17435 Jur. of 30th December/4th January 1936/1937 from the Assistant Secretary, Revenue Department, Government of Bengal, to the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal).

(d) *Dinajpur-Rangpur-Jalpaiguri boundaries.*

NOTIFICATIONS.

Dinajpur-Rangpur — No. 317 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4 (1) (s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette* relating to the area included in the Parbatipur police-station in the district of Dinajpur and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit lands specified in the following schedule, which have hitherto been included in that police-station, shall be included in the Saidpur police-station in the district of Rangpur.

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Parbatipur.	Remarks.
A* ..	Harirampur	6	This chit land is situated on the south-west corner of village "Saidpur," J. L. No. 99, police-station Saidpur, district Rangpur. *Thak is not available.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.	Belachandi	3	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Bangalipur," J. L. No. 100, police-station Saidpur, district Rangpur.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.	Ditto ..	3	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Lakshampur," J. L. No. 101, police-station Saidpur, district Rangpur.

Rangpur-Dinajpur.—No. 316 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4(1)(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette* relating to the area included in the Saidpur police-station in the district of Rangpur and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit land specified in the following schedule, which has hitherto been included in that police-station, shall be included in the Chirirbandar police-station in the district of Dinajpur:—

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Nilphamari.	Remarks.
B* ..	Baradaha ..	87	This chit land is situated within manza "Chak Bholi," J. L. No. 852, police-station Chirirbandar, district Dinajpur. *Thak is not available.

Rangpur-Jalpaiguri.—No. 314 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4(1)(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette*

relating to the area included in the Hatibandha police-station in the district of Rangpur and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit lands specified in the following schedule, which have hitherto been included in that police-station, shall be included in the Patgram police-station in the district of Jalpaiguri:—

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Kaliganj.	Remarks.
3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, A and B.	Bara Saradubi	13	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Sibram," J. L. No. 56, police-station Patgram, district Jalpaiguri.
6	Gotamari	24	

Rangpur-Dinajpur.—No. 315 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4(1)(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette* relating to the area included in the Saidpur police-station in the district of Rangpur and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit lands specified in the following schedule, which have hitherto been included in the police-station, shall be included in the Parbatipur police-station in the district of Dinajpur:—

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Nilphamari.	Remarks.
8, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 46, 51, 53, 54 and 55.	Lakshanpur	101	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Belachandi," J. L. No. 3, police-station Parbatipur, district Dinajpur.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6.	Ditto	101	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Raghunathpur," J. L. No. 41, police-station Parbatipur, district Dinajpur.
4	Ditto	101	This chit land is situated within the village "Harirampur," J. L. No. 6, police-station Parbatipur, district Dinajpur.
4	Ditto	101	This chit land is situated within the village "Rampur," J. L. No. 37, police-station Parbatipur, district Dinajpur.

Jalpaiguri-Rangpur.—No. 318 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4(1)(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette* relating to the area included in the Patgram police-station in the district of Jalpaiguri and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit lands specified in the following schedule, which have hitherto been included in that

police-station, shall be included in the Hatibandha police-station in the district of Rangpur:—

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Patgram.	Remarks.
1	Sibram	56	This chit land is situated within the village "Dolapara," J. L. No. 11, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
	Ditto	56	This chit land is situated within the village "Ramniganj," J. L. No. 10, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
5	Ditto	56	This chit land is situated within the village "Dolapara," J. L. No. 15, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
7 and 8	Ditto	56	These two chit lands are situated within the village "Purba Fakirpara," J. L. No. 14, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.	Ditto	56	All these chit lands are situated within the village "Bara Saradubi," J. L. No. 13, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
15, 16 and 17.	Sidmath	59	These chit lands are situated within the village "Bara Saradubi," J. L. No. 13, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
18, 20 and 22	Ditto	59	These chit lands are within village "Purba Fakirpara," J. L. No. 14, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
2	Jangram	57	This chit land is within village "Thenghara," J. L. No. 1, police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur.
1	Kuchibari	23	Ditto.

Jalpaiguri-Rangpur.—No. 319 Pl.—31st January 1935.—In exercise of the power conferred by section 4(1)(s) of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V of 1898), and in modification of all previous notifications published in the *Calcutta Gazette* relating to the area included in the Debiganj police-station in the district of Jalpaiguri and to the boundaries of that area, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that the chit land specified in the following schedule, which has hitherto been included in that police-station, shall be included in the Nilphamari police-station in the district of Rangpur:—

Thak Chak No. of chit lands.	Name of village to which appertains.	General J. L. No. of thana Boda.	Remarks.
45	Sonahar	327	This chit land is situated within the village "Gurgram," J. L. No. 4, police-station Nilphamari, district Rangpur.

E. N. BLANDY,

Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal (offg.)

APPENDIX II.

Report of the Cooch Behar-Rangpur Boundary Commission.

PART I.

1. *Introductory.*—After the cadastral survey of Cooch Behar State had been completed, it was decided by the Government of Bengal in letter No. 1057 T.—R. of the 11th August 1919, that so far as the Rangpur-Cooch Behar boundary was concerned, the Cooch Behar sheets should be finally inked up with a note to the effect that the boundary would be liable to readjustment when Rangpur district had been cadastrally surveyed.

By the end of field season, 1931-32, the Rangpur cadastral survey had been completed of the whole boundary, with the exception of thanas Dimka and Domar, which fell in the next season's block. As however, it was considered possible to survey the boundary of these two thanas by the end of December 1932, it was proposed to the Director of Land Records that a Boundary Commission might be appointed to start work in January 1933; and the Director of Land Records addressed Government accordingly in letter No. 3272 of the 22nd August 1932. It was pointed out that the presence of the settlement field party along the boundary would greatly facilitate the work and that it was important to incorporate the Boundary Commission's findings in the maps and record as early as possible. The main object of this was that recovery of settlement costs might not be delayed.

It was not, however, till June 1933, that any orders were received. In letter No. 472-T.—R. of the 19th June 1933, Government proposed to appoint a Boundary Commission, consisting of the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, and a representative of the Cooch Behar State; but it was then too late to take up field work. Further orders were issued in letter No. 766-T.—R. of the 21st October 1933; but this letter contained no instruction to the Commission, and left unsettled, pending further orders from the Government of India, the proposal of the Cooch Behar State that the initial cost of erecting ferro concrete pillars should be borne entirely by the State, and that half the amount should be refunded later on, when financial provision had been made by the Government of India. Subsequently the State's proposal was accepted, but it was then too late to have the pillars manufactured and embedded while the field work was in progress.

As regards the instruction to the Boundary Commission, a further reference was made, and in letter No. 14992 Jur. of the 22nd December 1933, it was ordered that the same principles were to be followed as those laid down for the Jalpaiguri-Cooch Behar Commission in letter No. 1057 T.—R. of the 11th August 1919.

These were:—

- (1) The *de jure* boundary is that of O'Donel's Revenue Survey of Cooch Behar 1868-70.

- (2) Differences between cadastral maps should be examined on the ground and in cases of appreciable difference should be compared with the Revenue Survey maps of 1868-70, necessary corrections being made in terms of the latter maps.
- (3) Present possession should be maintained as far as possible.
- (4) Where minor differences between the two cadastral maps exist, due to divergences of survey, the Commission should use its discretion in deciding which set of maps should be corrected.
- (5) In cases of unstable river boundaries, steps might be taken to straighten out the boundary, or adopt zig-zag boundaries so long as in the aggregate neither side lost or gained in the adjustment by comparison with the Cooch Behar Revenue Survey of 1868-70.
- (6) The boundary finally decided upon will be considered permanent, and will be demarcated by the Commission in such a way that it can easily be identified in the future.

2. *Preliminary procedure.*—During the cadastral survey along the Cooch Behar boundary, the Rangpur maps were compared with those of Cooch Behar State, and each discrepancy in survey was noted and numbered. Each case was then enquired into locally by the Kanungo or Revenue Officer concerned, and a report submitted.

In addition to the above discrepancies, 19 boundary disputes with Cooch Behar Taluks were filed by Rangpur zemindars. These had to be kept pending until the work of the Boundary Commission was completed, as the Survey Act (V of 1875) has no application to Cooch Behar State, and as the dispute would automatically be decided by the Boundary Commission. Each case was, however, locally enquired into by a gazetted officer, in order that the facts might be elucidated.

With this information, it was possible to start preliminary discussion before the commencement of field work, and the Government representative therefore visited Cooch Behar on August 7th. During the next three days, the procedure to be followed was discussed with the Revenue Officer, and each discrepancy of survey was examined with the Sadar Kanungo. As a result of the discussion the following principles were agreed upon:—

- (1) The discrepancies between Cooch Behar State and Mauza (Chatnai (a Khas Mahal Estate of Rangpur) would be adjusted according to the demarcation of Mr. Judd in 1911, which was accepted both by the State and the Government of Bengal.
- (2) Discrepancies regarding roads on the common boundary would be decided in favour of the State as the roads had been in the State's possession since 1864 and had been maintained by the State.

- (3) The large discrepancy in the common boundary of the Teesta river block would be adjusted according to the Revenue Survey of O'Donel, though the State would have no objection if Pemberton's Revenue Survey were followed in this particular case.
- (4) Where smaller rivers such as the Kharpa and Malda form the boundary and their position differed in the Rangpur maps from that shown in the Cooch Behar maps, the latter would be followed.
- (5) Minor differences due to errors in survey, discrepancies in survey, and small changes of possession, would be decided on the basis of the Rangpur maps, they being more up to date, after they had been checked on the ground by the Commission, with the provision that in certain cases joint local enquiries would be held before the Commission commenced field work.
- (6) It was decided that three enclaves would have to be specially demarcated, viz., Batrigach and Uttar Bansjani, which are Rangpur enclaves lying in Cooch Behar; and Dakurhat Dakinir Kuthi, a Cooch Behar enclave, lying in Rangpur district. In the case of the first two enclaves, there was a considerable difference between present possession, and O'Donel's Revenue Survey of 1868-70. In the last case, the State had been unable to locate the enclave since the year 1882, when it was diluviated by the Dharla river.

During the work of the Boundary Commission the only variation of these decisions was made in the case of small rivers such as the Kharpa and Malda. The reasons for this are given in section 5.

3. *Field work.*—Our instructions were that the work of the Boundary Commission should begin on the 1st January 1934, but the date had to be postponed as the State was not then ready, and as the Government representative was in charge of the Settlement Training Camp. The first meeting was held at Haldibari on January 15th where details of procedure were discussed. A start with the field work was made on January 21st but the Government representative was unavoidably compelled to interrupt the work in order to carry out previously arranged inspections in the first half of February and for a few days in the middle of March.

The actual dates on which field work proceeded were:—

	Days.
January 21st to January 24th ..	4
February 19th to March 11th ..	21
March 18th to March 27th ..	10

The start of the Commission's work appeared rather unpropitious, as it was heralded by an earthquake, followed by a violent thunderstorm which lost us a whole day, but apart

from this the weather was good though exceedingly hot and dry in the last stages, and there was no sickness.

In addition to Mr. N. C. Mustafa and myself, the staff employed on the Boundary Commission consisted of Babu J. C. Das Gupta, Sadar Kanungo of Cooch Behar State; the Subdivisional Kanungo of each Cooch Behar Subdivision for his own portion of the boundary; one Badar Amin, chainman, and coolie peon; and for running traverse across the Teesta, one Sub-Traverser for 5 days.

The total length of the boundary between Rangpur and Cooch Behar is 182½ miles, of which the last 5½ miles, forming the boundary between Mauza Tilai of Rangpur district, and Taluk Jhaukuthi of Cooch Behar, had been demarcated by Renny in 1873-74 and the boundary relaid in 1924 by Mr. O'Donel, Officer in charge of the Bengal Traverse Party. Our instructions were that the last 5½ miles were to be simply incorporated in our maps. The boundary to be demarcated therefore consisted of 177 miles.

We have been over the entire length, our progress averaging about 5 miles a day. Though we encountered difficulties, none of them were of a very serious nature, and we are able to report that we are in complete agreement as to the boundary to be adopted. Consequently it has not been necessary to refer any point to the Director of Land Records, who was appointed by letter No. 766 T.—R. of the 21st October 1933 as arbitrator in the event of any difference of opinion between the Commissioners.

The boundary commences with a large enclave of the Cooch Behar State adjoining the western side of police-station Domar from Mauza Betgara J. L. No. 18 in the south to mauza Nij Bhogdabri J. L. No. 4 in the north. It recommences from the trijunction of Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, and Cooch Behar at the north-west corner of police-station Domar and runs mainly east across the Teesta to Thengjhora J. L. No. 1 in the north-west corner of police-station Hatibandha. Here there is a break of some miles, where a portion of police-station Patgram of Jalpaiguri intervenes. The boundary recommences from Mauza Bura Saradubi J. L. No. 13, police-station Hatibandha, and continues unbroken along thanas Hatibandha, Kaligunj, Lalmonirhat, Fulbari, Nageswari and Bhurungamari to our finishing point which was O'Donel's pillar No. II. A concise but detailed description of the boundary is given, sheet by sheet, in Part II of this report; but the following points require special mention.

4. *Large rivers.*—The boundary crosses four large rivers—the Teesta, Singimari, Dharla and Kaljani twice. Between the high banks of these rivers there are large sandy chars, or chars covered with coarse grass, on which it would be useless to embed pillars. They would either be washed away or covered with a deposit of sand. In the case of the last three rivers we have endeavoured to place boundary pillars, and at some points, reference pillars, in such a way that they will be safe from erosion, and will serve to relay the boundary should the need arise in the future. In many cases they are intervisible, so that

they can serve as the basis for triangulation, by which points can be obtained, and the boundary off-setted with approximate accuracy.

The Teesta presents a different problem owing to the great distance between the high banks. Here we considered it advisable to follow the *de jure* boundary of the State—O'Donel's Revenue Survey line, in preference to Pemberton's line. The latter would be difficult to relay, while the former is almost a straight line across the river bed, over the greater portion of its length. The distance between the pillars on either bank being too great for relay by ordinary methods, we have had a traverse line run across the river bed and chars close to O'Donel's Revenue Survey line, and connected with Rangpur traverse stations on either bank.

It should also be mentioned that in crossing the Kaljani we have straightened out the boundary on the eastern side of the river. The char land here is fairly high, and is uncultivated besides the river, but leased out to tenants further east. The proposed line approximates to O'Donel's Revenue Survey, but by straightening it between pillars 338, 339 and 340, the boundary will be more intelligible to the tenants.

5. *Small rivers.*—Over the major portion of Hatibandha and Kaliganj thanas small rivers such as the Kharpa and Malda, and partially silted up old river beds such as the Kutimari form the boundary. Here we have followed the Cooch Behar maps as regards possession, because settlements of the fishing rights have been made by the State for many years. As regards discrepancies in survey, however, we decided to modify our original proposal to retain the Cooch Behar line intact.

In some sections of the course of these rivers, the stream passes between high banks, with possession on either side clearly defined by field boundaries. Their courses are extremely fortuous, and since the Cooch Behar Survey, there has been slight erosion, generally at the points where the rivers form a loop, consequently there are corresponding discrepancies between the two sets of maps. In these sections we considered it advisable not to disturb present possession where it clearly defined. The changes are very slight, and as neither side stands to lose or gain an appreciable area, we considered that we should demarcate the boundary as it now stands.

In other sections however, the rivers flow through low-lying marshy land which was still partially under water at the end of February. Though plots are shown in the maps on either bank, there are no field boundaries on the ground, and in some places the tenants themselves could not indicate precisely where their boundaries lay. Under these circumstances we decided to follow the Cooch Behar line, and this has been relaid on the Rangpur sheets.

Over these low-lying sections, the actual boundary cannot be determined except by relay. We have therefore endeavoured to follow the same method as in the case of large rivers, viz., to post boundary pillars, and in a few cases reference pillars, in such a way

that the boundary can be relaid with their help, should the need arise in future.

6. *Boundaries across fields.*—At some points, notably in Mauza Paschim Chatnai J. L. No. 1 of police-station Domar, and Mauza Durgapur J. L. No. 83 of police-station Kaliganj, the boundary instead of following *ails*, cuts across fields. Wherever practicable, the tenants have been instructed to build new *ails* along the boundary shown to them, but this was not possible in these two mauzas, the length of the boundary being too great. There should be no difficulty, however, in finding the boundary in Mauza Durgapur by joining the boundary pillars which we have posted; and in Paschim Chatnai with the help of Judd's pillars and the new boundary pillars.

Near the finishing point in Mauza Uttar Tilai J. L. No. 16, police-station Bhurungamari, it was found that the *ail* which had been built to demarcate the boundary between O'Donel's pillars III, IV and V had been demolished at the instigation of a Naib of the Kasimbazar Estate. Formerly the boundary at this point cut across fields, and the *ail* was built after Renny's pillars had been relaid in 1926. Though this was actually just beyond our finishing point the matter has been reported to the Superintendent of the Kasimbazar Estate, and the tenants were instructed to rebuild the *ail*.

7. *Discrepancies.*—The discrepancies encountered between the two sets of maps were of three classes:—

- (1) Discrepancies due to possession.
- (2) Discrepancies due to differences in survey.
- (3) Discrepancies of scale or orientation.

The first class had been enquired into and reported on before the field work commenced, and in most cases an agreement had been reached. There were, however, a few remaining cases which necessitated further enquiry, cases for example, where a plot had been included in both sets of maps. These cases were decided on the principle that possession should be followed unless dispossession was clear, i.e., unless we could infer that the tenant on one side had dispossessed or encroached upon the land of a tenant on the other side. The tenants were called on to produce the Terij (final khatian) of the Cooch Behar Settlement, and the parcha (not final khatian) of Rangpur Settlement. Such disputes over possession were very few, and we think that our decisions are equitable to both sides.

The second class of discrepancies, those due to differences in survey presented little difficulty, and were of a minor character. Here again, we followed the same principle in deciding which set of maps should be corrected. We also came across one or two isolated cases, where both surveys differed slightly from present possession, and in these cases both sets of maps have been corrected.

There remains the third class of discrepancy in scale or orientation. This requires a little explanation.

In a cadastral survey the maximum allowable error is 1: 200, so that over a distance of one mile, the allowable maximum is 40 links plus or minus. Assuming that over this distance, a Cooch Behar sheet has an error of 25 links plus, and a Rangpur sheet an error of 25 links minus, the net difference between the two maps is 50 links or half a chain. Thus, when the two boundaries are plotted together there is an apparent discrepancy, although the configuration is the same, and there is no difference in the boundary on the ground.

The same holds good in the case of discrepancies in orientation. The configuration of the two sheets is the same, but when the two boundary lines are super-imposed, one of them apparently shifts slightly to one side or the other. Another reason for this class of discrepancies is that a certain amount of correction has to be given in every traverse survey. Thus, when two separate traverse surveys are linked together by common stations, a certain amount of adjustment is necessary. Consequently it may happen that the cadastral boundaries of the two surveys may agree exactly when sectionally compared by graphical methods, but when plotted out from their respective traverse data, may show a difference.

These discrepancies are unavoidable, and it is impossible to force the maps to agree, without introducing further errors. We think that in such cases the map should not be altered, but it will be enough to mention any noteworthy cases, in the description of the sheet concerned.

8. *Demarcation of chits.*—The three chits, or enclaves, which the State wished to have specially demarcated, were Batrigach and Uttar Bansjani of Rangpur and Dakurhat Dakinir Kuthi of Cooch Behar. Besides these there are numerous enclaves on both sides of the boundary which have not been demarcated. We did not take up the demarcation of all the chit lands, as a proposal was under the consideration of the Government of Bengal for the interchange of the chit lands of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri with those of Cooch Behar. The Government of Bengal in view of the strong local objection to the proposed exchange decided to abandon the proposal and the order was communicated to the Director of Land Records and Surveys, in Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Jurisdiction Branch, No. 2949 Jur., dated the 21st March 1934, and a copy was sent by the Director of Land Records and Surveys to the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, in memorandum No. 1/6-1392, dated the 24th March 1934. The chit lands in our opinion should now be demarcated. Lt.-Col. Hirst in his report of the Jalpaiguri Boundary Commission, paragraph 10, page 6, remarked that this should be taken up during the adjustment of the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary. As the decision of the Government of Bengal was received very late, nothing could be done during the present Boundary Commission. We suggest that the boundaries of these chits in Rangpur and Jalpaiguri may be taken up during the next cold weather. If this suggestion be approved the work should commence not later than the beginning of December next.

Batrigach J. L. No. 81, police-station Kaliganj.—The most important demarcation concerned Batrigach, a Rangpur enclave lying in Cooch Behar about 4 miles north of the north-east corner of police-station Kaliganj. The mauza belongs to Tauzi No. 270 of the Rangpur Collectorate and is held by the Tushbhandar Court of Wards Estate, whose representative attended the demarcation.

A large strip on the western side of the mauza had been included in Batrigach during the Rangpur Survey on the basis of possession. This was now claimed by the Cooch Behar State on the basis of O'Donel's Revenue Survey map. The area concerned covers an area of 238.69 acres, and consists partly of cultivated land in the north and partly of high char, covered with tall grass in the south.

The cause of this dispute is the difference between the Revenue Survey maps of Pemberton and O'Donel. Pemberton surveyed Rangpur district in 1856-58 and O'Donel surveyed Cooch Behar in 1868-70. During both surveys the river Singimari flowed past the western side of Batrigach, but after Pemberton's survey, its course shifted considerably to the east. The difference between the two Revenue Survey lines thus represents the area claimed by the State. At the present time it has shifted a long way to the south-west.

As O'Donel's Revenue Survey line was to be the *de jure* boundary of the State, it was relaid on the Rangpur sheet and has been demarcated by six pillars on the ground, with very slight modifications. Between pillars B II and B III we propose to follow the old high bank of the river, which is a clear and natural boundary as the relay runs very close to it. Between the other pillars, we have straightened out very slight bends, so that the boundary will be more clearly intelligible.

As a result of this demarcation, the Tushbhandar Estate loses an area of 238.69 acres, which the Cooch Behar State has agreed to offer in settlement to Tushbhandar as a tenure. There will thus be no change of possession, or demand for selami. The raiyats will continue to pay rent as before to the Tushbhandar Estate.

Uttar Bansjani J. L. No. 1, police-station Bhurungamari.—Uttar Bansjani is a small mauza belonging to the Kasimbazar Court of Wards Estate, under Tauzi No. 200. It lies in Cooch Behar about two miles south-west of the north-west corner of police-station Bhurungamari. The Cooch Behar State claimed an area of 5.37 acres which was said to have been lost by encroachment on the north and west of the mauza, on the south there was no dispute, and at the south-east corner one plot was claimed by the State.

This dispute was rather complicated by the fact that the Cooch Behar cadastral map does not agree with O'Donel's Revenue Survey. Both lines were relaid on the Rangpur sheet, and it appeared from the relay that the intention during the Cooch Behar cadastral survey had been to follow the Revenue Survey line. The question then arose which line should be demarcated. We decided that in this case it would be better to follow the cadastral line,

in preference to the Revenue Survey. The former is easier of relay and is not quite so unrelated to present cultivation as the latter. Moreover, the area which will be lost by the Kasimbazar Estate is smaller than it would be if the Revenue Survey line were followed.

On the northern side of the enclave, we found that part of the boundary was still in dispute. The tenants stated that even after the Rangpur Survey, there had been encroachments, and *ails* had been altered. We propose therefore that the proposed boundary may finally be fixed as now-demarcated by pillar UB I to UB XVI.

As in the case of Batrigach there will be no change in possession. The Cooch Behar State will offer settlement of the area it has gained to the Kasimbazar Estate.

As regards the plot in the south-eastern corner, we decided that it should remain in Uttar Bansjani. We found an old buried masonry pillar on the south-east corner of this plot, indicating that the plot falls within the enclave. The existence of this pillar was previously not known.

Dakurhat Dakinir Kuthi.—This is a small enclave of the Cooch Behar State lying in Mauza Lakshmi Kanta J. L. No. 50 of police-station Kurigram, about 8 miles inside the Rangpur district boundary. It was diluviated by the Dharla river in 1882, and since its reformation, the State had been unable to locate its position. During the Rangpur Survey it had been relaid with the help of the Cooch Behar map, but a small portion was reported to have been dispossessed.

On local enquiry it was found that the major portion of this enclave consists of uncultivated grazing land, and the remainder of cultivated land. The area being semi char in character, there are frequent changes in cultivation, and we found that even since the Rangpur Survey a number of *ails* had been altered. This caused some difficulty in relaying, but we are satisfied that the chit has been correctly demarcated by pillars DI-DX, and where its boundary crosses cultivated land, the tenants have been instructed to build new *ails*.

The estate affected by the small changes resulting from this demarcation, is the Kasimbazar Estate. The area being very small, it would be simplest for the estate to adjust rents on the basis of new areas, otherwise the tenants will have to come up under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, when Case work commences.

9. *Pillars.*—In order that ferro-concrete pillars might be prepared and embedded during the Commission's progress along the boundary, it was proposed that the entire cost of preparing the pillars should be borne by the Cooch Behar State, and that one half of the cost should be refunded later by the Government of India, no provision under this head having been made in financial year 1933-34. In letter No. D. 3971-p/33 of the 15th December 1933, the State's proposal was accepted by the Government of India, but there was then insufficient time to have the pillars prepared. Stout bamboo pegs have therefore been embedded, and marked by cutting circles on the earth round them. The pillars have

now been prepared, and it is hoped that they will be embedded before the rains set in, otherwise the low-lying areas will have to wait until after next cold weather, and in the meantime there is every likelihood of the bamboo pegs being lost. Since writing the above we have learnt that the Cooch Behar State has replaced the bamboo pegs by ferro-concrete pillars.

The number of pillars proposed for 177 miles of boundary was 531, or three to a mile; and the cost, including cartage was estimated at Rs. 12-8 per pillar, in all Rs. 6,637-8, of which half is payable by the Government of India, and half by the State.

We have actually fixed the positions for 340 pillars on the boundary, and for 32 pillars in the demarcation of Batrigach (6), Uttar Bansjani (16) and Dakurhat Dakinir Kuthi (10). The total number of pillars to be embedded is thus 372 and the estimated cost will be decreased to Rs. 4,650.

The reason for this considerable difference is that we found along the boundary a great variety of pillars belonging to previous surveys, many of which we have been able to utilise. In some cases, where we found masonry pillars that were beyond repair, we have fixed the position of new pillars on the same site, as the cost of repair would exceed that of a new pillar. In all cases, however, the position of these pillars has been shown in the maps and boundary traces. Pillars which were found to be in a fair state of repair have been used as boundary marks. Many of them were overgrown with jungle or roots of trees and these have been cleared, others were buried, and have been uncovered and shown to the tenants. One masonry pillar, for example, was found in a perfect state of preservation under two feet of silt. A good many of them had not been shown in either set of maps.

With a few exceptions, we found that all of these pillars are on the true boundary; and in those exceptions, there was generally a reason for embedding them off the boundary. The pillars found broken may be repaired.

We found pillars of the following surveys:—

- (a) *Revenue Survey.*—These are brick masonry pillars about 3'-6" feet square surmounted by a blunt pointed top of cement. Some are in good condition, others consist of a heap of broken bricks. They are thought to have been put down by the State after the Revenue Survey of 1868-70.
- (b) *Cooch Behar Survey pillars.*—These are similar in type to the Revenue Survey pillars, though rather smaller. It is not certain when they were embedded, but it is thought that they date back to the first State Survey of 1875, which was carried out by Beckett.
- (c) *Cooch Behar trijunction pillars.*—These are similar in type to (b) and are embedded in some cases on the junction of two Cooch Behar Taluks with Rangpur. It is not known why some trijunctions were so demarcated and others not.

(d) *Judd's pillars*.—These are in good condition. They were embedded in 1911 by Judd, who demarcated the boundary between Cooch Behar and mauza Paschim Chatnai of police-station Dimla.

(e) *Jalpaiguri pillars*.—We found four square cement pillars which had been posted during the Jalpaiguri Settlement; and one hexagonal stone prism.

(f) *Rangpur Δ stones*.—These had been posted during the Rangpur operations at the trijunction of two Rangpur mauzas with a Cooch Behar Taluk. Some were found to be missing and will be replaced; and in one or two cases, they were not on the true trijunction, and were altered. As they are very small stones we did not use them as boundary marks.

(g) *Unauthorised pillar*.—In Mauza Singjhar J. L. No. 41, police-station Bhurungamari, we found one unauthorised pillar. The tenants said that it had been posted by a big jotedar of the Kasimbazar Estate. As it was on the correct boundary we allowed it to stand.

Our own pillars will be of ferro-concrete, 8' in length, of which 3' will project above the ground. They will bear the letter B P and in the case of reference pillars, R P.

A note on the previous surveys on the Rangpur-Cooch Behar boundary, is included in Appendix I.

10. *Office procedure*.—To indicate the boundary which we propose should be finally adopted, a set of boundary sheets has been prepared in the following manner. The Bengal Drawing office supplied a set of plots on a 4" scale, showing the traverse stations of the Cooch Behar cadastral survey and those of the Rangpur traverse in their relative position to the Cooch Behar stations. These were then plotted out on 16" scale on p. 70 sheets. The cadastral boundaries were then transferred on the basis of the traverse stations. The Cooch Behar boundary has been shown by a continuous red line, and the Rangpur boundary by a continuous black line. Where the two lines coincide, the black boundary only has been shown; where there is a difference, both lines have been shown, and the boundary which we propose to follow has been indicated by small black hatchings. In cases where we have straightened out the boundary, or departed from both lines, the new boundary has been shown by a green line, with black hatchings.

In the Teesta river block, the traverse stations across the river and those connecting them on either bank are shown in blue.

The resulting sheets are 110 in number, and a concise but detailed description of them is given, sheet by sheet, in Part II of this report.

In addition to the above set of boundary maps, two sets of traces have been prepared, and bound in book form, as have the original boundary maps in order to prevent them being lost or damaged. It is proposed that

the original boundary maps, which are forwarded with this report to the Revenue Secretary through the Director of Land Records, should be permanently retained in the office of the Director of Surveys. Of the two sets of traces, it is proposed that one should be sent to the Vice-President of the Cooch Behar Durbar, and the other made over to the Collector of Rangpur.

11. *Financial statement.*

	Cooch Behar.			Rangpur.			Total.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment ..	1,475	15	9	1,047	12	6	2,523	12	3
Travelling allowance ..	679	6	0	520	15	0	1,200	5	0
Contingent charges ..	370	8	9	293	0	9	663	9	6
Total ..	2,525	14	6	1,861	12	3	4,387	10	9

12. *Recommendation*.—For the sake of convenience, our recommendations are summarised below. As the Cooch Behar State has already agreed to offer settlement to the Tushbhandar and Kasimbazar Estates for the areas which it has gained as a result of the demarcation of "Chits", no recommendation is necessary on this point—

- (1) As the Boundary Commissioners are in complete agreement and there has been no difference of opinion between them, it is recommended that the boundary proposed may be accepted as final by the Government, and orders passed as early as possible.
- (2) With reference to the concluding portion of Part II regarding the Cooch Behar, Goalpara, Rangpur trijunction, we think it advisable that Government should pass orders declaring which of the existing two trijunction pillars is to be regarded as the correct trijunction.
- (3) Where the boundary runs through char land, or swamp and is not identifiable on the ground, relay may be necessary in the future. In such cases it should be relaid either by compass survey or by triangulation. The latter method based on the boundary or reference pillars which have been posted should provide points from which the boundary can be off-setted with fair accuracy.
- (4) The above recommendation will be important if char areas which are at present fallow should become cultivable and be settled with tenants. In such cases we think that cultivation should not be commenced until the opposite party has been notified, and the boundary demarcated by representatives of both parties. In the event of disagreement, an independent surveyor may be appointed to act as arbitrator.

If this proposal is approved, notices may be issued to this effect on the zemindars of the Rangpur Estates concerned.

- (5) In transferring the boundaries of both cadastral surveys to the final boundary sheets we recommend that very small discrepancies of 20 links or so may be ignored. We also think that

where there are larger discrepancies due to differences in scale, orientation, or adjustment in the connection of traverse data, it is useless to attempt to force the maps to agree, as this would simply introduce errors on the ground, which do not exist.

- (6) There should be a regular inspection of the boundary pillars by responsible officers. As the length of the boundary and the number of pillars is very considerable, it might be most convenient if an annual inspection is made alternately by the Cooch Behar State authorities, and by officers of the Rangpur Collectorate. The State might divide the work between the five Subdivisional Ranungos, and the Collector of Rangpur between the Circle Officers concerned.

A certificate should be given that all the pillars are in good condition, and any cases of broken or damaged pillars should be reported.

- (7) It is proposed that the original final boundary sheets should be retained, with a copy of this report in the office of the Director of Surveys, Bengal. Of the two sets of boundary traces, one set together with a copy of the report, should be made over to the Collector of Rangpur, and the other set, with a copy of the report to the Cooch Behar State.

- (8) We have not notified our changes in the boundary to the Surveyor-General of India, because our boundary is not authoritative until it has been notified. It is presumed that any changes from the existing boundary will be notified to the Surveyor-General in due course.

- (9) The undemarcated chits of Cooch Behar and Rangpur may be demarcated next cold weather.

Before concluding this report we should like to express our thanks to the Cooch Behar State for the loan of four elephants throughout our field work, and for the provision of tents and camp equipment. We also commend especially the work of Babu Jyotish Chandra Das Gupta, Sadar Kanungo, whose accurate knowledge and untiring energy contributed greatly to the rapid progress of our work.

PART II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BOUNDARY SHEET BY SHEET.

Sheet 1.—The boundary commences with a large enclave of the Cooch Behar State lying on the west of police-station Domar, and extending from Mauza Betgari J. L. No. 18 in the south to Mauza Nij Bhogdabri J. L. No. 4 in the north—a distance of about 12 miles.

Pillar No. 1 is posted at the trijunction of Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and the Cooch Behar enclave, 10 links south of a large Jika tree growing from a grassy mound. From this

trijunction the boundary runs north besides an old road, now a cart track overgrown with grass. The level of the land on the Rangpur side is about two feet higher than that of the Cooch Behar side. Pillar No. 2 is on the site of a Rangpur traverse station. The boundary here passes through a good deal of fallow land and is not easily identifiable. From pillar 2 it continues north along a bank, the level of land on the Cooch Behar side being appreciably lower than that on the Rangpur side.

Sheet 2.—The boundary continues north along the bank to pillar 3, where it turns due east and follows a cart track covered with grass through fallow land to a Revenue Survey masonry pillar, which was found completely buried in the middle of the road. Pillar 4 was posted 20 links south of the masonry pillar, at the point where the boundary turns north and follows a ditch, till it meets a road, along which it runs to pillar 5. At this point the boundary turns north-west, leaving the road, and runs along the edge of high land, with lower paddy land on the Cooch Behar side.

The discrepancies in this sheet are due to errors in survey probably caused by the tenants showing the boundary incorrectly.

The Rangpur line has been followed here.

Sheet 3.—The boundary continues along the edge of high land to pillar 6 beside a road, which it follows north until it turns off west along a ditch, with bamboo and a homestead to the south of it. Pillar 7 was posted 60 links north of the point where the boundary turns north again, and follows the edge of high land, rejoining the road.

Sheet 4.—The boundary continues along the road to pillar 8, where it turns west, and runs along *ails*, and through some fallow land to pillar 9. Here it makes a sharp bend back to the north-east, and returns to the road through similar country and by a village road. Pillar 10 is posted a short distance north of a road junction. It follows the road north-east, and by *ails* to a Rangpur Δ stone; then runs along a strip of low-lying paddy land into uncultivated waste. The boundary at this point is not identifiable and will require relay. Pillar 11 is posted at a point where the boundary makes a bend through uncultivated land, and a little further on, follows identifiable field boundaries through low paddy land.

Sheet 5.—The boundary follows *ails*, and bends northward round a strip of water to pillar 12 on a high *ail*: thence along the edge of high land to pillar 13, where it runs into lower land, and follows well defined *ails* to a Rangpur Δ stone on the Chilahati road.

Sheet 6.—The boundary follows the Chilahati road north to pillar 14, which is beside a second Rangpur Δ stone. Here it turns along *ails* into fallow land, to a Rangpur Δ stone, then north along the edge of high fallow to pillar 15, where it turns east and runs through fallow and then along *ails*, to pillar 16. Here it turns north along the Chilahati road and then straight north by a well-defined *ail*.

Sheet 7.—Pillar 17 is posted at the point where the *ail* rejoins the Chilahati road. The boundary then follows the road; with small diversions along *aills*, to pillar 18 beside a Rangpur Δ stone, where it turns north-west along a village road.

Sheet 8.—The boundary runs north-west along the village road, until shortly before pillar 19, it leaves the road, and bends round three Rangpur plots back again along the side of the road; then crosses the road to pillar 19 and turns west along the road. About 25 chains further on, it leaves the road, and runs south-west by a large *ail*, running south through fallow to pillar 20. From here it runs west through bamboo, and along *aills*; then south and then west again through fallow grazing land to pillar 21, beside a road.

This concludes the demarcation of the enclave. Pillar 21 stands at the northern trijunction of Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, and the Cooch Behar enclave.

Sheet 9.—The boundary recommences from the trijunction of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur, at the north-west corner of police-station Domar. Here there is a Revenue Survey masonry pillar on high fallow land, 25 links from the bank of the Bura Teesta, a small stream which was once the main channel of the Teesta. From this pillar the boundary runs east through fallow grazing land across a narrow strip of low paddy land, and then over fallow again to pillar 22 on an *ail*. Between these pillars relay is necessary to determine the boundary. From pillar 22 it runs east through fallow, across a strip of paddy land and through more fallow, then crosses a low-lying "jola" to a village road, at which point pillar 23 is posted. Thence it follows the road north-east to pillar 24 which is at the junction with a larger road.

Sheet 10.—From pillar 24 the boundary follows the road east to a masonry pillar and to a Rangpur Δ stone a short distance north of the road. It then crosses the Eastern Bengal Railway line to the junction of the road with a cart track. Pillar 25 is posted 25 links beyond the junction.

Sheet 11.—From pillar 25 the boundary runs through fallow for a short distance, then along the cart track to a masonry pillar, and then, with a slight divergence at one point round a bamboo grove, along the cart track to pillar 26. Here it turns south-east and follows the cart track to a masonry pillar, the jungle round which has been cleared. It continues along a strip of high land, grown with bamboo, down into fallow, and then along the edge of cultivated land, until it turns east along a large *ail*. A short distance further on there is a masonry pillar and about 10 chains beyond a second masonry pillar, which has been cleared of jungle.

Sheet 12.—From the masonry pillar the boundary runs south-east along a high bank, making a small turn east and passing through low-lying land and swamp to pillar 27, which is on a high *ail*. It then follows *aills* for about 12 chains branching off through low-lying land, where no boundary is visible, to a masonry pillar on higher ground.

The small differences of survey are negligible.

Sheet 13.—From the masonry pillar the boundary turns sharply to the south-west, and runs through a stretch of fallow land, along a cart track, to a road, which it follows to pillar 28. This is just south of the junction of two roads. It continues down this road, and along *aills* south to pillar 29.

Sheet 14.—The boundary follows *aills* to a Rangpur Δ stone and to pillar 30, continuing south and east to pillar 31. Between pillars 30 and 31 there is a stone pillar demarcating an estate boundary. At pillar 31 it turns south and follows *aills* to pillar 32.

The only noteworthy discrepancy is at pillar 32, where there is a small difference of survey. Here the Rangpur line is followed.

Sheet 15.—The boundary follows south along *aills*, turning west along a ditch, and then south to a masonry pillar, continuing to pillar 33 beside a Simul tree, and pillar 34 in low paddy land. Here it turns east and follows *aills* through a bamboo plot to pillar 35 thence south and east to pillar 36.

The small differences of survey may be neglected.

Sheet 16.—From pillar 36 the boundary follows *aills* south to pillar 37 and east to pillar 38. Here it turns south and crosses the Chilahati-Chatnai road to pillar 39: thence south-west by various bendings to pillar 40. This has been posted on the south side of a village road to avoid damage by cart traffic, but the boundary is actually along the north of the road. At pillar 40 the boundary turns south along *aills*, then east to pillar 41.

There are small differences of survey in this sheet but the configuration is the same, and represents the same boundary. The maps should not be forced to agree as this would introduce errors in the area of plots.

Sheet 17.—From pillar 41 the boundary follows *aills* south, then east to pillar 42 where it turns south again, running through low land, and through fallow beside a cart track, to pillar 43. Here it turns east along the edge of high land, crosses a narrow strip of low land and again follows high land on the opposite side, until it turns north along a large *ail* to pillar 44: thence east to pillar 45, beyond which it crosses a khal and continues east along *aills*.

From the commencement of this sheet down to pillar 43 there is a difference in orientation, due probably to an adjustment in the traverse data. The configuration of both lines is the same however, and the maps should not be altered on this account. Just north of pillar 43 and east of pillar 44 there are small differences of survey. Here the Rangpur line is followed.

Sheet 18.—The boundary follows *aills*, turning south-west to a masonry pillar, from which it runs along a cart track to a second masonry pillar. Here it turns south-east and proceeds along *aills* with various bends, to pillar 46; thence east till it meets a cart track beside which is pillar 47. From this pillar the boundary descends in lower fallow

land, crosses the Bura Teesta and runs through more fallow land to pillar 48. Here it turns south-east along an *ail*, bending east to a masonry pillar. This masonry pillar marks the commencement of police-station Dimla, and of Judd's demarcation of 1911. The boundary here is between Cooch Behar and a Khas Mahal Estate, Tausi No. 525; and over the greater part of this section it cuts across fields. In doubtful places it has been demarcated with bamboo pegs.

Commencing from the masonry pillar, it runs north across fields to pillar 49, which is posted at a point where the boundary crosses a large *ail* and leads on to higher land. It passes a masonry pillar on the way, which is 1.63 chains off the boundary. From pillar 49 it runs north to Judd's pillar 11 where it bends round west to pillar 50.

Sheet 19.—From pillar 50, the boundary bends south-west along an *ail* for some distance, and then through fallow to Judd's pillar 10. Beyond this it bends round north, crossing the Bura Teesta, and running through the middle of a homestead. Pillar 51 is posted to the north of this homestead. From here it cuts across fields to Judd's pillar 9, crosses the Bura Teesta, and runs through grass and scrub jungle across the river again to Judd's pillar 8; thence north, mainly through uncultivated land to Judd's pillar 7, where it turns north-west and cuts across fields to Judd's pillar 6. Between pillars 6 and 7 the boundary was relaid, and the tenants instructed to build a new *ail*. From pillar 6 it turns north and crosses the river. Between Judd's pillars 7 and 8 there is a Revenue Survey masonry pillar 4.30 chains off the boundary.

Between Judd's pillars 9 and 6 there are considerable differences in survey. Here the Rangpur line, representing Judd's line, will be followed.

Sheet 20.—After crossing the river the boundary cuts across fields to pillar 52 and thence across fields, and in places through the river bed to pillar 53, and Judd's pillar 5.

In this sheet the traverse stations have had to be omitted, as it was found that there was a serious error in the compilation of the data supplied (between stations A₂, B₂ and C₂).

The discrepancies in this sheet are similar to those in sheet 19. The Rangpur line is followed.

Sheet 21.—From Judd's pillar, the boundary follows a large *ail*, and then turns north-west across fields to pillar 54 on an *ail* south of the river: thence mainly along the river's course to Judd's pillar 4, where it turns north-east and cuts across fields to pillar 55 and Judd's pillar 3; thence north, cutting across fields to Judd's pillar 2 and north-east to pillar 56.

The discrepancies are similar to those in sheet 19. The Rangpur line is followed.

Sheet 22.—From pillar 56 the boundary cuts across fields and through fallow, where several bamboo pegs were posted, north-east to Judd's pillar 1, and thence to a broken masonry pillar at the south of a road. Between Judd's pillar 1 and the masonry pillar we propose that the boundary should be a straight line.

This concludes the section demarcated by Judd. From the masonry pillar the boundary follows the road east, past a second masonry pillar on the north side of the road, to pillar 57.

The discrepancies at the beginning of this sheet are similar to those in sheet 19. The Rangpur line has been followed. Between Judd's pillar 1 and the masonry pillar we propose that the boundary should run absolutely straight, approximating to the Cooch Behar line.

Sheet 23.—The boundary continues east down the road (which belongs to Cooch Behar) past three masonry pillars to a fourth, where it turns south along *ails*.

Sheet 24.—The boundary follows *ails* to a Rangpur Δ stone and then to a masonry pillar, from which it runs east to pillar 58. Some distance further east, the boundary passes into sandy chars in the bed of the Teesta river. From this point, the boundary of Cooch Behar Taluks, as they stood before diluvion, has been relaid and followed. No pillars can be posted over this section as they would be washed away or covered with a deposit of sand.

Sheet 25.—The first portion of this sheet is in the bed of the Teesta. The boundary rejoins high land on the east of plot 1250 of Mauza Jhar Singeswar (Rangpur). From here it follows an *ail* southwards to pillar 59, where it makes a slight bend east, then south again.

The small difference of survey near pillar 59 is negligible.

Sheet 26.—Beyond pillar 59 the boundary again runs into the bed of the Teesta, rejoining the main land at the east of plot 4294 of Mauza Jhar Singeswar (Rangpur).

Sheet 27.—The boundary follows *ails* south-east to pillars 60 and 61; then south-east until it turns east along an *ail* and a ditch through bamboo to pillar 62. Here it turns south along an *ail* and a ditch, bending round a homestead plot, and then following the ditch and a village road to its junction with a second road. Here it makes a small turn west, then south again along an *ail* and a ditch to a masonry pillar, beyond which it turns east.

The discrepancies at the extreme north of this sheet and just south of pillar 62 are differences of survey. Here the Rangpur line is followed.

Sheet 28.—The boundary follows *ails* east to pillar 63, where it turns south and then east along higher land grown with bamboo, to pillar 64, and then along bamboo plots and by *ails* to pillar 65, which is posted on the site of a masonry pillar buried under three feet of silt. From pillar 65 it follows *ails*, and turning south through low-lying fallow land (where bamboo pegs were posted to demarcate the boundary) to a high embanked road. It follows this road east for a short distance, then turns off along a ditch as far as a disused road. Here it turns north and runs into the bed of the Teesta river.

Sheets 29 and 30.—These two sheets show the relay of the boundary across the Teesta. In sheet 29 the boundary of the diluviated Cooch Behar Taluk Amtaram Debattar has

been relaid and followed as far as the commencement of O'Donel's line. This is marked by a pillar the position of which has been shown, though it is now in the river bed. From this pillar O'Donel's line runs straight east, across sheet 30 with a slight bend south-east to a second pillar. This was on the opposite bank at the time of the Revenue Survey, but is now also in the river bed. The traverse stations shown on these two sheets are those put down during the Boundary Commission.

From this pillar the relaid boundary has again been followed to sheet 31, where it connects with the boundary of Mauza Theng-jhara of police-station Hatibandha.

Sheet 31.—The commencing point of this sheet is in sandy chars, through which the boundary passes northwards through higher uncultivated land, across a village path and along an *ail*. Pillar 66 is posted at the point where the boundary takes a small turn to the east. It then turns north to a Jalpaiguri boundary pillar, and proceeds east along *aills* to a second Jalpaiguri pillar. Here it turns south and then east, passing along *aills* flanked by bamboo. Pillar 67 is posted at the point where it turns north again by *aills*, along the edge of a bamboo plot, then again by *aills*, through the back garden of a homestead to a large masonry pillar. At this point it turns east along a fair sized village road to the junction with another road.

The minor discrepancies in this sheet, do not exist on the ground, but are due to difference in traverse data.

Sheet 32.—At the road junction, the boundary turns south by *aills* to pillar 68 and thence by bends to the east and south to a third Jalpaiguri pillar situated at the south of a path (the boundary is actually in the north of the path). Here it turns north by *aills* to a fourth Jalpaiguri pillar at the south of a road, at which point it turns east along the road, and meets the concrete trijunction pillar of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur.

Minor discrepancies are due to difference in traverse data the configuration being the same.

Sheet 33.—Between this sheet and sheet No. 32 there is a gap of some miles where a portion of police-station Patgram of Jalpaiguri district intervenes. The boundary recommences in this sheet from a Jalpaiguri concrete pillar, marking the trijunction of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur. From this pillar the boundary runs east along *aills*, into the middle of the bed of the old Kutamara river. It runs past two Rangpur trijunctions roughly down the centre of the river bed in a southerly direction, until it bends round north-east, passing through a water logged area to pillar 69 on high ground.

The discrepancies in this sheet are negligible.

Sheet 34.—From pillar 69 the boundary turns south-east along the edge of the higher ground, and then bends south-west through the water logged area round an island, back to the river bed, which it follows. Further along its course there is a Revenue Survey

masonry pillar on the northern bank, 1-10 chains from the actual boundary. This pillar will be repaired. The boundary continues down the river to a Rangpur trijunction stone.

Sheet 35.—Continuing down the river bed the boundary meets high land again near the junction of two cart roads, just beyond which pillar 70 is posted. It then proceeds south-east along a road, turning west and south along a raised village path and through a tobacco field, where the road has been slightly diverted, to pillar 71: thence mainly south by *aills* to pillar 72. Between pillars 71 and 72, there is a Rangpur Δ stone.

Sheet 36.—From pillar 72 the boundary runs south along an *ail* and then turns south-east along a "jola", through low-lying uncultivated land and bending sharply round a bamboo grove, it crosses more low-lying land to high ground. Here pillar 73 is posted, whence the boundary turns south and descends into low-lying land. A buried Revenue Survey masonry pillar was found here beside a cart track. The boundary then passes through low-lying fallow, across a large pond, along an *ail* and through more low-lying land to pillar 74, which is posted on a large high *ail*. Thence it passes through swampy ground, across a bund, and through more swamp to high ground. At this point the tenants were instructed to plant a Jika tree. The boundary then follows the high bank till it turns south through bamboo and jungle, close to a mosque, and follows a village road southwards.

The small discrepancies are due to the difference of traverse data, the configuration being the same.

Sheet 37.—The road leads south to a masonry pillar where the boundary turns west through bamboo, then south and west along ditches and again south through jungle to pillar 75 beside a road. The pillar was placed here as there was some doubt regarding an adjacent plot. Thence it goes west along the road to a Rangpur Δ stone, where it turns south and proceeds by clear field boundaries to pillars 76 and 77. Thence south and west to a village path.

Discrepancies in mapping are slight and the configuration is the same.

Sheet 38.—The boundary proceeds south along the village path till it meets the Mekliganj-Dinhata road, at which point pillar 78 is posted. It follows this road for a short way then again turns south by clear field boundaries, and west to pillar 79. Then turning south, and east along a path and by *aills* to pillar 80, it proceeds eastward, turning south along a ditch and running along bamboo and jungle to a path, whence it continues south along *aills*.

Sheet 39.—The boundary continues south by *aills* to pillar 81 where it turns east and follows *aills* to the point where it makes a small bend to the north and then east. On this corner pillar 82 was posted on the site of a broken masonry pillar. Thence it goes east by *aills* turning south to pillar 83, and then east and south to a Rangpur Δ stone. From this point the boundary passes through

swampy land where relay is necessary. It rejoins high land and then turns south along a ditch, at which point pillar 84 is posted. Thence it goes south and east with minor bends, along a ditch to a road, round a bamboo plot, and again by the road, to its junction with the Hatibandha road. Here pillar 85 is posted. Three chains south of this pillar there is a Revenue Survey masonry pillar on the east of the road. From pillar 85 the boundary goes south-west along the Hatibandha road to pillar 86, where it turns west along the top of a ditch, through bamboo and ditches into paddy fields, and by *aïls* into the old bed of the Singimari river, locally known as the Kharpa river. Reference pillar 87 is posted on the corner of high land, 1.57 chains west of the point where the boundary turns south down the river bed.

The discrepancies in this sheet are negligible.

Sheet 40.—The boundary now follows the right, or Rangpur, bank of the river through low-lying swampy country to pillar 88 in the corner of a high *ail* (this is intervisible with RP 87 for purposes of relay). It continues down the right bank to pillar 89 in low land beside a *doba* (here the level will be raised), and to pillar 90 on a raised road just west of a bridge.

In the extreme southern portion of this sheet there is a discrepancy of some 40 links, but the configuration of the two lines agrees. The difference is due either to difference of traverse data or orientation.

Sheet 41.—The boundary continues through low-lying swamp along the right bank to pillar 91 on a raised road close to a broken bamboo bridge, and to reference pillar 92. This is intervisible with pillar 91, and stands on the high bank. The actual boundary is 2.10 chains to the north of the reference pillar. The boundary continues through low-lying swamp until it crosses the river, and makes a sharp bend round to the south. At this pillar 93 is posted on the high bank. The boundary then follows the left bank to pillars 94 and 95, where the bank is high and clearly defined, and again crosses the river to pillar 96 by a pathway.

The discrepancies in this sheet are due primarily to differences in survey. The actual river bank in the low-lying swamp is not clearly defined, being often obscured by floating weed and grass. The Cooch Behar line has been followed here.

Sheet 42.—The boundary now follows the right bank to pillar 97 on an *ail* and continues through swamp to pillar 98 on a low *ail*, pillar 99 besides the Bhotmari-Cooch Behar road, pillar 100 on an *ail*, and pillar 101 on a large *ail*. It then crosses the river again to pillar 102 on a large *ail*.

The discrepancies in this sheet are due either to slight changes in the river's course, or to differences of survey in low-lying sections. The principles mentioned in Part I of the report have been followed in deciding which line shall be followed.

Sheet 43.—From pillar 102 the boundary goes along an *ail*, through a shallow *nala* and by indistinct field boundaries to pillar 103,

which is posted on an *ail* beside a narrow *nala*. Thence the boundary runs down the *nala*, rejoining the river, and continuing along the right bank, which is well-defined to pillars 103 105 and 106.

The discrepancies in this sheet are due to slight changes in the course of the river.

Sheet 44.—The boundary continues along the right bank to pillars 107, 108, 109 and 110. From pillar 110 the river passes for a short distance through marshy land, where the Cooch Behar line has been followed. There is a Rangpur Δ stone between pillar 110 and 111, a little off the boundary. Thereafter the banks are clearly defined up to pillars 111 and 112.

The discrepancies are slight and of the same nature as those in sheet No. 43.

Sheet 45.—The boundary continues along the right bank of reference pillar 113, which has been posted 20 links south of the boundary as there is a possibility of slight erosion at this section of the bank. It continues down the right bank across a road, passing just south of a bridge, to a Rangpur Δ stone and to pillars 114 and 115. Between pillars 115 and 116 there is a small divergence from the river bank beyond the left bank.

The discrepancies are due to slight shifts in the river's course.

Sheet 46.—The boundary follows the right bank, bending in west to pillar 116 on a high bank. The boundary here is the old bank of the river, the present course having shifted slightly to the east. From 116 it returns along *aïls* to the river, follows the bank for a short way and again leaves the river, bending round along *aïls* to pillar 117, which is the point where it rejoins the river. It then follows the right bank for a short distance and again leaves the river and goes along *aïls* to pillar 118 on an *ail* just before the boundary rejoins the river; thence along the right bank, until it again leaves it and bends round by high land bank to the river. The boundary follows the river for a short way and then leaves it and goes by *aïls* to pillar 119 just beyond which it rejoins the river. It again leaves the river and bends round in a loop back to the right bank; then follows the river leaving it and running round a triangular shaped piece of land, to a point close to the river bank. This being in fallow land, a small peg was posted to indicate the boundary to the tenants. Here the boundary finally leaves the river and goes south-east along *aïls* to pillar 120, and by an *ail* and a village path, to its junction with the Hatibandha Local Board Road. It follows this village path to pillar 121 at which point it turns south.

The discrepancies in the sheet are due to the slight shifting of the river's course; and at the southernmost point to a difference in survey. The Rangpur line was found correct at the latter point.

Sheet 47.—From pillar 121 the boundary goes by an *ail*, then the bamboo and a ditch, and again by *aïls* to pillar 122 where the *aïls* meet a village road. It then follows this road, leaving it by *aïls* and meeting a second

road down which it goes to a Rangpur Δ stone. Thence south along clear field boundaries to pillars 123 and 124.

The discrepancies in the south of this sheet are due to mistakes in survey.

Sheet 48.—From a Rangpur Δ stone the boundary turns east and follows the old bed of the Malda river. The field boundaries are partly identifiable, partly unidentifiable. There is a considerable discrepancy west of pillar 125. The triangular portion is plot 941 of Mauza Uttar Jaorani and forms part of a large pond. This plot had been included within the khatian of the Rangpur tenant and the terij of the Cooch Behar tenant. The evidence on both sides, however, was to the effect that the Rangpur line is correct, which it was decided to follow. The boundary is marked by a Jhika tree on the northern bank at the apex of the triangle and by a *Simul* tree on the southern bank, close to which is pillar 125. From this pillar the boundary passes through low-lying land to a bund, which it follows to pillar 126 and then through a "Jola" returning to the bund and then cutting across fields to pillar 127: thence south through low-lying land and east across a raised path to a bamboo peg at the point where it turns north up a shallow khal. This peg was posted to indicate the boundary to the tenants. The boundary then bends round an *ail* back to the river and cutting straight across to the right bank follows *ails* to pillar 128: thence by *ails* which are rather indistinct in places to pillar 129 near a large tree, and to pillar 130.

Apart from plot 941 of Uttar Jaorani, the discrepancies are due principally to differences of survey. The boundary over this section is extremely difficult to identify. We have accepted the Rangpur line up to pillar 126. Just beyond this we have followed the Cooch Behar line as the boundary passes through water.

Sheet 49.—From pillar 130 the boundary turns south-east and passes through uncultivated swamp to pillar 131. Over this section we have relaid the Cooch Behar line.

Just south of pillar 131 there is cultivating possession which we have followed. The boundary runs south along an *ail*, turning east and going into more swamp. Two bamboo pegs were put on in this section to indicate the boundary to the tenants. It then turns south-west and follows the old river bed through swamp, turning south into higher ground and running along an *ail* to pillar 132. This is intervisible with pillar 131.

From pillar 132 the boundary is clearly identifiable. It goes southwards by *ails* and then east along a road to pillar 133; thence south and west by *ails* to pillar 134.

Sheet 50.—From pillar 134 the boundary goes south by *ails*, turning west and then south again to pillar 135. Here it turns east, crossing the Sitai road, to a Rangpur tri-junction stone, and continuing due east by *ails*, a ditch, and a village road to pillar 136. Here it turns south and then east.

The discrepancies are negligible.

Sheet 51.—Continuing from pillar 136 the boundary runs to a Rangpur Δ stone and,

by *ails* and a ditch across a path, to pillar 137; thence following *ails*, it bends north and rejoins the Malda river at pillar 138. The boundary now follows the right bank, crossing a small "Jola" and continuing to pillars 139, 140 and a Rangpur Δ stone.

The discrepancies are due to slight changes in the river's course, but are negligible.

Sheet 52.—From the Δ stone the boundary follows the right bank to pillar 141 beside a village road, and to pillars 142 and 143. Before pillar 144, the boundary leaves the river along an *ail* passing through low-lying ground to a high *ail* in which is pillar 144; thence along an *ail* and through a "Jola" to two jack fruit trees growing together. It then follows the bank again. Between pillars 143 and 144 there is a Rangpur Δ stone.

Over the river section the discrepancies are slight and are due to small changes in the river's course.

At pillar 144 there was a considerable difference of survey. Here the Cooch Behar line was found to be correct.

Sheet 53.—The boundary continues along the right bank to pillar 145. Just before pillar 146 it leaves the river and goes westward along an *ail*, then turning south through the river to pillar 146, from which it continues down the right bank to pillar 147 and to a Rangpur Δ stone. Just north of pillar 146, we propose that the boundary should run straight.

The discrepancies are negligible.

Sheet 54.—The boundary continues along the right bank, and then leaves it, to run round an island of land on the left bank. On the northernmost point of this island pillar 148 was posted. The boundary then passes through uncultivated land in which bamboo pegs were posted to indicate the boundary to the tenants, and then follows the right bank again to pillars 149 and 150. At pillar 150 there was a gap between the two surveys. We have followed possession here and proposed a new line which is demarcated by pillar 150. The boundary then follows the right bank to pillar 151 and a Rangpur Δ stone.

Apart from the discrepancy at pillar 150, the discrepancies are due to small changes in the river's course.

Sheet 55.—The boundary continues along the right bank to pillar 152 and reference pillar 153. The reference pillar has been posted 65 links south of the boundary as there is a possibility of slight erosion at this section of the bank. The boundary then follows the right bank to pillars 154 and 155. There is a Rangpur Δ stone between pillars 154 and 155.

The discrepancies are due to slight changes in the river's course.

Sheet 56.—The boundary follows the right bank to pillar 156 just before pillar 157, leaves the river and bends in a half circle back to the right bank, which it follows to pillar 158 and to a Rangpur Δ stone. At this point it crosses the river into high land, crosses a path, and proceeds straight north along an *ail* to pillar 159 and then mainly

north-west to pillar 160 on the side of a village road. From this point it goes north along an *ail*, through bamboo, and turns west and north to a Revenue Survey masonry pillar on the edge of a road.

The discrepancy at pillar 157 is due to mistake in survey. The Rangpur line was found to be correct for part of the diversion from the river; the Cooch Behar line correct for the other part. The other discrepancies are due to small changes in the river's course.

Sheet 57.—From the masonry pillar the boundary crosses the road and proceeds north through jungle and by *aills* to pillar 161. Here it turns east and follows *aills* to another Revenue Survey masonry pillar and to pillar 162, which stands on the back of the old Chatra river.

There is a small discrepancy before pillar 162, where both maps were found to be wrong according to possession and were corrected.

Sheet 58.—From pillar 162 the boundary turns north-east following the old bed of the Chatra river, and then leaving it by an *ail* running north and it then rejoins the old bed round which it follows, again leaving it and going to pillar 163 by an *ail*. Here it turns north, crossing a road and turning west across a pond, then bending round north-east by a high bank to pillar 164, where it turns north-west.

Sheet 59.—The boundary runs north-west along high land to pillar 165 (a trijunction point) and pillar 166 about 10 chains further on. Here it takes a main bend to the east, crosses the Gidari river, and passes through tree and thorn jungle to pillar 167 on the edge of the jungle. This point was demarcated with reference to a traverse station found close by. From pillar 167 the boundary cuts across fields (the tenants in either side being common) to pillar 168 on a high bank, which was formerly a channel of the Singimari river. From here the boundary descends several feet and runs across fallow grazing land straight to pillars 169 and 170. From pillar 170 it turns north-east and passes into sandy chars left by the recess of the Singimari river towards the north. From this point relay is necessary to determine the boundary should the necessity arise. The Cooch Behar line has been relaid in the Rangpur sheet and followed. It makes a sharp bend to the north-west through sandy char, returning south-east through sand, and then passing through high fallow char land. Reference pillar 171 is posted on a clearly identifiable *ail*. It is intervisible with pillars 169 and 170. Between pillar 167 up to pillar 170 we propose that the boundary should be a straight line between each pillar.

The slight discrepancy between pillars 165 and 169 is due to difference in the traverse data, but if the boundaries of the two sets of maps are separately compared by graphical methods, there is no appreciable difference. The maps should not, therefore, be altered at this point.

Sheet 60.—Reference pillar 172 is posted at the corner of a high *ail* which surrounds a number of homesteads. It is intervisible with R. 171 and with B. P.s 170 and 169,

and has been posted to facilitate relay of the boundary. The boundary passes to the east of the reference pillar 173, which is 8.95 chains from R. P. 172, on a Cooch Behar traverse station. A little further south the boundary runs into fallow land and sand, and then crosses the Gidari river to a high *ail* on the opposite bank on which pillar 174 is posted. It continues down this *ail* in a south-easterly direction.

Sheet 61.—From pillar 174 the boundary runs by a high and clearly defined *ail* to a Revenue Survey masonry pillar and continues south to pillar 175. Here it makes small bends west, north and west again, to a Rangpur Δ stone, from which it runs south-east by clearly defined *aills*.

Sheet 62.—The boundary continues along the same *ail* to pillars 176, 177 and 178, which is in rather low-lying land. From this point it runs into marshy land and across a beel called Dighaltari Chora to pillar 179 on the opposite high bank, near a Jika tree: thence by well-defined *aills* to a broken masonry pillar.

Sheet 63.—The boundary continues South-East along the same *ail* to a second masonry pillar just level with the ground, and a Rangpur Δ stone: thence along an embanked road to two masonry pillars one on either side of the E. B. Railway line. The boundary crosses the railway between Magulhat R. S. and the bridge over the Dharla river. From the second pillar it runs along a rather faint *ail*, across an old railway embankment to pillar 180 in fallow land. About 15 chains further on a bamboo peg was posted, but it was considered inadvisable to post a pillar, as the river is cutting Southwards and has already shifted at least 5 chains since it was surveyed, in 1931.

Beyond this the boundary runs into the main stream and through sandy chars to the opposite bank. Over this section the Cooch Behar line has been relaid and followed.

There is a slight discrepancy in orientation over the relay through the river bed, but it is negligible.

Sheet 64.—A short distance from the opposite high bank there is a masonry pillar, which is visible from the other bank. From this pillar the boundary runs north-east along *aills* to pillar 181 and by a path below a high bank to a broken R. S. masonry pillar: thence down a road to pillar 182, north by *aills*, and then turning east to pillar 183 and with minor bends to pillar 184 which is on the site of a broken masonry pillar. From here the boundary continues to a Rangpur stone and a broken masonry Δ pillar.

Sheet 65.—The boundary continues east through thick jungle and bamboo below a high bank to pillar 185 beyond which it crosses the Baniadaha river, and runs to pillar 186 beside a village road: thence north-east along *aills* over high fallow land and down into low-lying marshy land. A bamboo peg was posted to indicate the point where the boundary turns north-west, as it passes here through a "jola" to pillar 187 beside a high bank. Here the boundary bends round north-east and runs below the

high bank to a masonry pillar on a trijunction, and thence to pillar 188. Beyond this it crosses a "jola" to a high bank where there is a Rangpur Δ stone, and thence east by *ails* and south to pillar 189, where it turns north-east and then south-east to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar.

Sheet 66.—From the trijunction masonry pillar the boundary runs south-east and east by *ails* to pillar 190 and mainly east with minor bends to two Rangpur Δ stones, from the second of which it turns north-east to pillar 191. Here it turns west, and runs along *ails* with minor bends to pillar 192, posted at the western point of a large *doba*. From this point the boundary turns back, and goes mainly east and south-east to pillar 193; thence south and east along *ails*, crossing the Fulbari-Dinhata road to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar. From this it goes south to a second trijunction masonry pillar and continuing south crosses the Fulbari-Dinhata road again and turns west to a third trijunction masonry pillar; thence through jungle, and along a village road to pillar 194, turning south along the road, and west to a masonry pillar. Just beyond this pillar the boundary turns south-west down a silted up khal, the bed of which is now largely cultivated, and then turns west to pillar 195 which is on the bank of the khal. In the bed of the khal there is a small channel which is in Cooch Behar, the remainder of the khal being in Rangpur. The Cooch Behar line has been followed here as there were slight encroachments.

The small discrepancies near pillar 192 are due to difference of survey and have been corrected.

Sheet 67.—From pillar 195 the boundary runs mainly south-west with minor bends by *ails*, through jungle and along a village road to pillar 196 where it turns south-east along *ails* and a village road to pillar 197 just beyond this pillar it turns south-west along the bank of the old Nilkumar river to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar.

The slight discrepancies are due to differences in survey and are negligible.

Sheet 68.—The boundary continues south along the bank of the Nilkumar to a Rangpur Δ stone and to pillar 198 from which it cuts across cultivated plots, following roughly the centre line of the river bed to pillar 199.

The discrepancy is due to a slight difference in orientation which may be ignored.

Sheet 69.—The boundary continues eastward down the bed of the Nilkumar to pillar 200 on a high *ail* running across the river bed, and thence across the Dinhata road to a masonry pillar, at which point it turns north and goes straight along *ails* to pillar 201.

Sheet 70.—From pillar 201 the boundary runs mainly east along *ails* to pillar 202 and north to pillar 203, beside a village road; thence it turns north-east, cutting across a plot and then following *ails* to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar. Here it turns south along *ails* and a village road to pillar 204 on the site of a broken trijunction masonry pillar, and continues south along the road to

pillar 205. Here the boundary turns east and again follows the bank of the dead Nilkumar river to a broken masonry pillar, and to pillar 206 where it bends round north, and continues along the river bank past two masonry pillars, to pillar 207. From this point the boundary leaves the river along *ails* in a westerly direction, bending round north to a masonry pillar, whence it turns north-east to pillar 208. Here it turns south again along a village path and rejoins the Nilkumar close to the point where it left the river bank. It then turns east and again follows the bank.

The discrepancies are so slight as to be negligible.

Sheet 71.—Pillar 209 is on the bank of the Nilkumar and from here the river bends round south and then east to a Rangpur Δ stone. From this trijunction, which is the commencement of police-station Nageswari, the boundary runs north along *ails* to pillar 210, and thence to a masonry pillar, close to a Rangpur Δ stone, and to pillar 211.

The small discrepancies are due to differences of survey for that in the north, the Cooch Behar line has been followed, and for the other two, the Rangpur line.

Sheet 72.—From pillar 211 the boundary runs north along *ails* to a masonry pillar on the bank of the Nilkumar river. This pillar is 35 links to the west of the correct boundary. From this point the boundary again follows the bank of the Nilkumar to pillars 212 and 213 between which there is a Rangpur Δ stone. From pillar 213 leaves the river bank northward by an *ail*.

The discrepancy on the south of the sheet is due to a difference of survey, which has been corrected.

Sheet 73.—The boundary runs north along *ails*, then turns west to pillar 214, north by various bends to pillar 215, and north-east along a village road and then along *ails* to pillar 216.

The slight differences in survey are negligible.

Sheet 74.—From pillar 216 the boundary runs north by *ails* to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar, and continues north to pillar 217.

The differences in survey are negligible.

Sheet 75.—From pillar 217 the boundary follows *ails* north to pillar 218, which is on the site of a buried masonry pillar. From this point the boundary turns east along the bank of the old Dudkumar river which bends round north-east to pillar 219, north-west to a masonry pillar, then north and north-east to pillar 220, which is beside the Kashipur road just south of a bridge.

The small difference of survey is negligible.

Sheet 76.—From pillar 220 the boundary runs north by a village road to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar, then turns east along *ails* and a village road to pillar 221. Here it turns south by *ails* and then follows the bank of the Dudkumar to a Rangpur Δ stone. From this point it turns north-east along *ails* to pillar 222, thence north and west to pillar 223 beside a village road, where the

boundary turns north along the road and runs with two minor bends to a masonry pillar beside which is a Rangpur Δ stone. Here it turns east and again follows the bank of the Dudkumar to pillar 224.

* The slight differences in survey have been corrected.

Sheet 77.—The boundary continues along the Dudkumar to pillar 225, beside a small path, and to pillar 226 beside a village road: then bending round north to pillar 227 on a bund, and west to pillar 228, where the river bank bends back north again.

The discrepancy is due to an error of survey in the Rangpur map which has been corrected.

Sheet 78.—The boundary continues along the bank of the Dudkumar, bending round south past three Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillars and then east to pillar 229; beyond which it makes a loop southward to pillar 230, bending north-west to pillar 231 and thence turning north. Between pillars 230 and 231 there is a Rangpur Δ stone.

The small discrepancies in survey and orientation are negligible.

Sheet 79.—The boundary continues along the Dudkumar to pillar 232. This is a reference pillar placed 30 links south of a broken and buried trijunction masonry pillar. It is on high ground to avoid the possibility of its being lost during the rains. From pillar 232 the boundary continues eastward along the river bank to pillars 233, 234 and a Rangpur Δ stone. This stone marks the commencement of police-station Bhurungamari.

Sheet 80.—From the Δ stone at the commencement of police-station Bhurungamari the boundary crosses the Dudkumar and proceeds north along the right bank of the Bognai river, to pillar 235 and to a masonry pillar, about 10 chains further on. This is an unauthorised pillar, said by the tenants to have been posted by a jotedar under the Kasimbazar Estate; but as it is on the correct boundary it has been allowed to stand. The boundary continues north-west along the right bank to pillar 236.

There is a small discrepancy in this sheet, but the configuration of the two lines is the same. The difference is due to independent survey along a river bank covered in parts with jungle. The Rangpur line has been accepted, but the Cooch Behar maps need not be altered.

Sheet 81.—The boundary continues along the bank of the Bognai to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar, and then, crossing the Eastern Bengal Railway line at a small bridge, to pillar 237, beside a khal leading off from the river.

The discrepancies are similar to those in the last sheet.

Sheet 82.—The boundary continues along the Bognai to pillars 238 and 239. There is a Rangpur Δ stone between pillars 238 and 239.

There are small differences of survey similar to those in sheet 80. The Rangpur line has been accepted.

Sheet 83.—The boundary continues along the river bank, which goes in wide loops from pillar 240 to pillars 241, 242, 243, 244 and 245.

The discrepancy at pillar 240 is due to a difference of survey: that south of pillar 241 was a mistake in survey. The Rangpur line has been followed in both cases.

Sheet 84.—The boundary follows the winding course of the Bognai to pillars 246 and 247, whence it makes a loop and turns north-west to pillars 248 and 249.

The differences of survey in this sheet are negligible.

Sheet 85.—The boundary continues along the river bank to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar, then bends east to pillar 250 and then north. Rather more than 20 chains beyond pillar 250, it leaves the river bank, turning west along a village road, and then along *ails*. Just beyond the Bamnahat—Sahebganj road it turns north for a short distance to pillar 251, from which it turns back east and then bends north-west to a Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillar. From this it runs north along *ails* and a village road turning east and south, and returning to the river bank. A few chains before its junction with the bank, pillar 252 is posted, it then follows the Bognai eastward to pillar 253.

The slight discrepancies in survey are negligible.

Sheet 86.—The boundary continues north-east along the river bank to pillars 254 on a bund, 255 on a road and 256. There is a Rangpur Δ stone between pillars 255 and 256.

The differences of survey are negligible.

Sheet 87.—From pillar 256 the boundary follows the loops of the river to pillar 257, a Cooch Behar Δ masonry pillar, pillar 258, a Cooch Behar Δ masonry pillar, pillar 259, and another Cooch Behar Δ masonry pillar.

The only noteworthy discrepancies lie between pillars 256 and 257. Between the two Rangpur trijunctions the Rangpur line has been followed; a little further south the Cooch Behar line has been followed.

Sheet 88.—The boundary follows the river bank north-west until it meets a village road. At this point it crosses the river bed and returns down the opposite bank until it meets a village path; where pillar 260 is posted. Here it turns east along the path and bends round to pillar 261. For some distance on either side of this pillar there is no visible *ail* along the boundary. The line was therefore demarcated on the ground for the benefit of the tenants up to the masonry pillar. Thence it follows *ails* north-west, and bending round south follows a road from which it winds round a U shaped section of the dried up river bed, returning to the road along the opposite bank. Pillar 262 is posted at the point where the boundary leaves the road westward along an *ail*. It then turns north-west along the high bank of a beel known as Saheber Chora to two Cooch Behar trijunction masonry pillars.

The only noteworthy discrepancy is at the northernmost masonry pillar, where there is a difference of survey of about 40 links. It is proposed to follow the Rangpur line.

Sheet 89.—Beyond the second masonry pillar on the last sheet the boundary meets the Fulkumar river, which it follows for about 17 chains, then leaves it, running through bamboo and by an *ail* to pillar 263: thence north by *ails* to a buried masonry pillar, and west to pillar 264 on a bund. From this pillar it continues west until it meets the bank of the Fulkumar in thick jungle, and turns north along the river.

The differences of survey are negligible.

Sheet 90.—The boundary continues along the bank of the Fulkumar to pillars 265, 266 and a Cooch Behar Δ masonry pillar. Beyond this it bends round north-east passing a few chains north of the river bed.

The differences of survey are negligible.

Sheet 91.—The boundary follows *ails* to pillar 267, near the Fulkumar river, and continues to the river, crossing which it follows the right bank to pillar 268, then bending north at a Rangpur Δ stone in a loop by the left bank to the point where the boundary leaves the river, and follows an *ail* eastward to pillar 269. From this it follows *ails* turning south by a village road and then following *ails* down to the river bank again. Here it bends round north and then west along the left bank, until it almost rejoins the point where it turned south; then bends east to pillar 270, where it leaves the river and follows *ails* to a buried trijunction masonry pillar; then turning east and north to pillar 271, on the site of a buried masonry pillar.

The discrepancies at pillar 269 and on the western and southern sides of the loop beyond it, are due to errors in survey. Here the Rangpur line was found to be correct. At the north-east corner of the loop we have adopted a new line. The Cooch Behar map was wrong, and in the Rangpur survey, it had been followed without sufficient enquiry. The area affected is a promontory on the Cooch Behar side of the river, covered with trees and jungle. It clearly belongs to the State, and this was confirmed by local evidence.

Sheet 92.—From pillar 271 the boundary follows *ails* north to a masonry pillar, turning east to a second pillar and then north, with two minor bends to pillar 272 on the site of a broken masonry pillar. Here it turns west along *ails* to pillar 273 on the site of a buried masonry pillar and then north to a buried masonry pillar just beyond which pillar 274 is posted, where the boundary turns east and south to a masonry pillar. Here it turns north along *ails* to a buried masonry pillar and thence west to another pillar, thence north to pillar 275, where it turns east by south and follows *ails* to a masonry pillar.

Sheet 93.—From the masonry pillar at the termination of last sheet the boundary runs north by *ails* to a buried masonry pillar, where it turns east and follows *ails* to pillar 276, continuing across low-lying land to pillar 277, which is posted at the southern bank of a tank. Here it turns south along *ails* to a

masonry pillar, and then south and east to pillar 278, whence it turns north to a masonry pillar.

There are small differences of survey, which are negligible.

Sheet 94.—From the masonry pillar in the last sheet the boundary follows *ails* north-east to pillar 279 to a masonry pillar, and thence mainly east to pillar 280. The boundary here passes through a narrow bottle neck, and runs round a rough circle about four miles in circumference, returning to a point about 3 chains from pillar 280. From pillar 280 it starts its circuitous route in a south-western direction, to pillar 281.

Sheet 95.—From pillar 281 the boundary continues west and south for a short distance, then turns east to pillar 282 and south to pillar 283. Here it turns east along the side of a low-lying "jola" to a buried masonry pillar. Thence east to pillar 284 continuing south and east to a buried masonry pillar. From this pillar it turns north along *ails* to pillar 285.

The discrepancy beyond pillar 283 is due to a slight difference in survey along the jola. The Rangpur line has been accepted.

Sheet 96.—From pillar 285 the boundary runs mainly east along *ails*, across the dried up bed of the Goraljhora river. It then turns north, and follows the left bank to pillar 286, and north-east to a masonry pillar; thence north-west along the river bank, leaving it by an *ail* and running north to pillar 287. A short distance north of this pillar it turns west and follows *ails* to pillar 288.

The discrepancies north and south of pillar 286 are differences of survey due to the thick jungle and wild rose bush which cover the bed of the Goraljhora. The Cooch Behar line was found to be correct here. From the masonry pillar, the boundary runs through water for a short distance and then along the bank. Here again the Cooch Behar line was followed.

Sheet 94.—From pillar 288 the boundary comes back into sheet 94. It follows *ails* westward to pillar 289, from which it runs along the dried up bed of a khal and turns south-west through jungle and along *ails* to pillar 290. Here it turns west to a masonry pillar, from which it goes north-west by various bends along the bottle neck to pillar 291 on the site of a buried masonry pillar. From pillar 291 it runs about 5 chains west, straight to another buried masonry pillar, and then turns south to a third buried masonry pillar. From this pillar it turns west along the bank of a khal, until it turns north to pillar 292, which stands in low-lying land near the edge of Chakli Beel. From this pillar the boundary runs through marshy land north-west for about 10 chains, then turns due north and runs through low-lying marsh to a broken masonry pillar. At the point where the boundary turns due north a bamboo peg was posted to indicate the boundary to the tenants. Relay will be necessary over this section of the boundary.

The principal discrepancy in this sheet lies between pillar 291 and the masonry pillar west of it. The boundary here is not easily identifiable and it seems probable that the existence

of both the pillars was not known during the two surveys. We decided that a new line, shown in green, should be adopted, running straight from pillar 291 to the masonry pillar.

There is also a slight discrepancy at pillar 289 where the Rangpur line was adopted.

Sheet 97.—About 2½ chains north of the masonry pillar in the last sheet the boundary turns east to pillar 293. Here it has emerged from swamp into higher ground. It then runs due east through bamboo and along *aïls*, turning north for a few chains, and then bending back west into low-lying land again and turning north to pillar 294 on the site of a buried pillar. From here it runs north-west through marshy land to a buried masonry pillar, which was discovered after a great deal of difficulty; then turns east into higher ground to a masonry pillar about 7 chains distant in a bamboo grove and continues east to a broken masonry pillar. Here it turns south-east and then south-west along *aïls* to pillar 295, where it turns south to a masonry pillar, and thence east and south to pillar 296. Thence it turns east and runs by a dried up khal to pillar 297, continuing mainly east to a broken masonry pillar. From this pillar it turns north along the bank of the Mora Kata Khal, which it crosses, returning down the opposite bank for about 10 chains, then turning east along an *ail* to pillar 298, from which it turns north.

The noticeable discrepancies in this sheet lie between pillar 293 and the masonry pillar north of pillar 294. Here the Rangpur line was followed.

Sheet 98.—From pillar 298 the boundary follows *aïls* by various bends to pillar 299; then west to the Kanirangi Khal, and north-west along its bank to a Rangpur Δ stone which had been embedded on the site of a masonry pillar. From this it follows *aïls* north and north-west to pillar 300, and continues north along *aïls*.

Sheet 99.—The boundary follows along *aïls* to pillar 301, which is about 7 chains south of the high bank of Kaljani river. Continuing north it passes into a char covered with tall grass, turns west, then north again across the river to the opposite bank and follows an *ail* to pillar 302 which is about 7 chains beyond the northern high bank. Between these pillars relay is necessary. A short distance beyond pillar 302 the boundary meets the high bank of the Kaljani Chora (the old course of the river) which it follows to reference pillar 303. This is posted on an *ail* one chain from the top of the high bank for purposes of relay.

There is some discrepancy between the two lines in the char and river section, but the configuration is exactly the same, and the difference is due to orientation. On the northern bank, however, there is a considerable discrepancy. Here it was decided to follow the line of present possession, which is the Rangpur line.

Sheet 100.—Near reference pillar 303, the boundary turns west, and crosses the Kaljani Chora into a high char. Pillar 304 is posted at the point where the boundary turns north; but a little further on it turns west into

another old river bed. To help relay in this section, reference pillar 305 was posted at the north-west corner of plot 79 of Mauza Uttar Dhaldanga (J. L. No. 14 police-station Bhurungamari). The boundary returns into the char north of this reference pillar, but will require relay. In many places the field boundaries are not identifiable. Pillar 306 is intervisible with RP 305 for relaying purposes, and a few chains beyond it pillar 307 has been posted beside a small road which passes some homesteads. Beyond pillar 307 the boundary passes again through the Kaljani Chora to pillar 308 which is a short distance beyond the northern high bank. Pillar 308 is intervisible with pillar 306. Thence the boundary follows *aïls* mainly north to two Cooch Behar Δ masonry pillars. From the second of these it turns east along *aïls* to pillar 309 and then runs south passing once more into the Kaljani Chora and emerging into the high bank along an *ail* to pillar 310. This pillar is intervisible with pillar 308. The boundary then runs straight east along *aïls* into a bamboo grove to pillar 311 where it makes a slight turn south-west and emerging from bamboo follows *aïls* to pillar 312.

Sheet 101.—From pillar 312 the boundary runs east along *aïls* to pillar 313 on the bank of a dried up khal, then east and north for a short distance to pillar 314, where it again turns east and crosses the Gadadhar river to pillar 315, on the site of a buried pillar. A short distance beyond, it meets a khal which it follows up to the high bank skirting Noadanga Beel. It follows this round north-east, and then leaves it by an *ail*, one chain along which, pillar 316 is posted.

There is a small discrepancy at pillar 313. Here the Rangpur line was found correct.

Sheet 102.—From pillar 316 the boundary follows *aïls* north to a masonry pillar, continuing to the old bed of the Kaljani river, which is now under cultivation. Near this point a masonry pillar was found, about 3½ chains off the boundary. The boundary then follows the bank of the old river north-west to a masonry pillar which stands 40 links east of the correct boundary, and continues north to the top of a loop where pillar 317 was posted on the site of a masonry pillar. From here it turns south along the old river bank to pillar 318.

Sheet 103.—From pillar 318 the boundary continues south along the bank, and then bends round north-east to a sharp point, at which pillar 319 is posted on the site of a broken masonry pillar. Here it turns south and follows *aïls* till it meets the Cooch Behar—Dhubri road along which it turns east for about 10 chains; then turns south-west along the old Kaljani and north-west by an *ail* to pillar 320. Rejoining the old bed of the Kaljani it follows round a loop eastward to pillar 321 and another loop westward to pillar 322. Some 15 chains beyond pillar 322 it leaves the bank and follows an *ail* north-west to pillar 323, and west to a buried masonry pillar by the edge of Nowdanga Beel. Here it turns due south and follows *aïls* back to the old bed of the Kaljani.

There is one considerable discrepancy at pillar 321. Here it was decided to follow the Rangpur line which is according to possession.

Sheet 104.—The boundary continues down the bank of the old river to pillar 324 near a village road and pillar 325. Just beyond this, it crosses an old khal and bends round north-east along *ails* to pillar 326, about 10 chains further on it makes a sharp bend south, and then returns south-west, cutting across fields, and then following *ails* to pillar 327. At the point where the boundary cuts across fields, the tenants were instructed to build a new *ail*. From pillar 327 it continues south-west to a buried masonry pillar and beyond which it turns north-west along *ails*, and recrosses the old khal to pillar 328. It continues west to a buried masonry pillar, and south-west to pillar 329 beside the old bed of the Kaljani. From pillar 329 the boundary crosses the old bed and passes into a high char on which pillar 330 is posted.

The first discrepancy, just beyond pillar 325 is due to a mistake of survey which was followed in the Rangpur maps. The correct boundary was pointed out by the tenants and has been shown by a green line.

From the bend to the north-east as far as pillar 326, there is again a discrepancy though the configuration is the same. Here, however, both sets of maps bore no relation to the field boundaries. Again the Cooch Behar line was followed during the Rangpur Survey without proper enquiries being made. The green line which we propose to adopt represents field boundaries on the ground according to possession, which is well established.

The remaining discrepancies are due to a slight difference in orientation. The configuration is the same and the maps should not be altered, as the boundary is quite clear on the ground.

Sheet 105.—From pillar 330 the boundary runs through high char, into sand, and across the Kaljani river to the opposite high bank. Reference pillars 331 and 332 have been posted well back, as there has been some erosion along the southern bank. Pillar 331 will serve to relay the boundary on the high bank, where it runs partly through fallow land and is not easily identifiable. Beyond R. P. 332 the boundary passes into char land covered with *Jau*, and then bends back in a south-westerly direction. Pillar 333 is at the point where it returns into the old high bank. From this pillar the boundary follows *ails* south to pillar 334, which is close to a small group of homesteads. Thence it cuts across fields to pillar 335 on the edge of high land, beyond which it drops into low-lying fallow, which was once the course of the river. Pillar 336 in the next sheet is intervisible with pillar 335.

Sheet 106.—The boundary crosses low-lying fallow, then rises on to cultivated land, and follows *ails* south-east to pillars 336, 337 and 338, which is posted beside a village road. Beyond pillar 338 the boundary passes into

sandy char, covered with high *Jau*, crosses the Kaljani river, and passes through uncultivated char to pillar 339.

Between pillars 338 to 339 we have straightened out the boundary. This will be more intelligible to the tenants, and will simplify relay, if necessary. The discrepancies in this sheet between pillars 336 and 338 are due to differences of survey. Here the Rangpur line, which represents present possession, was accepted.

Sheet 107.—From pillar 339 to pillar 340 the boundary has again been straightened out. The line now follows along the boundary of plot in high char land, which has been leased out, but which has no visible boundary on the ground. Pillar 340 is posted on an *ail*, just beyond the point where the boundary leaves char land and runs into high culti- by Renny. This is the terminating point of our demarcation. The point where the boundary meets Renny's line and turns south-west, is a field corner, 33 links south-west from Renny's Pillar No. II.

The discrepancy between pillar 340 and the closing point is due to errors of survey in the Rangpur sheet. There is no doubt that the traverse station near Renny's Pillar No. II was wrongly plotted, as there was a serious error in the distance between pillars II and III. This traverse station has therefore been ignored. The error has been corrected, and the boundary between pillar 340 and the closing point has been resurveyed. This is shown in green (and in black where it tallies with the former line) and represents the correct boundary according to present possession. There is some discrepancy in the Cooch Behar map also, and this will be corrected according to the line as resurveyed.

From Renny's Pillar No. II the boundary up to the trijunction of Cooch Behar, Goalpara and Rangpur has been demarcated by Renny. Our instructions were that this section was to be incorporated in this report.

This sheet shows the boundary between pillars II and XIV. Of these pillars IX and X have been washed away.

Sheets 108, 109 and 110.—These three sheets continue the boundary between Jhaunkuthi and Tilai, as surveyed by Renny and demarcated by Mr. O'Donel in 1923-24.

Sheet 108 covers the boundary from pillars XV to XIX; sheet 109 from pillars XIX to XXX and sheet 110 from pillars XXX to XII, and thence to the Cooch Behar-Goalpara-Rangpur trijunction. Of these pillars, Nos. XVIII, XIX and XX have been washed away.

The trijunction pillar, at which Mr. O'Donel has terminated his demarcation, is that of MacDonald's survey of 1875. It will be noticed that there is a second pillar 2-70 chains to the west. This is the pillar built by Col. Hirst as the trijunction, in the course of the Cooch Behar-Goalpara Boundary Commission. It represents Renny's trijunction as relaid by Col. Hirst and is described in detail in Appendix C of Col. Hirst's report.

Mr. O'Donel apparently accepted MacDonald's pillar, and from this pillar the boundary between Rangpur and Goalpara commences on the Cadastral map of Rangpur. There are thus two inter-provincial trijunction points.

Although strictly speaking, this section of the boundary is outside the scope of this Commission; we think it advisable that Government should declare which of these two pillars is the true trijunction.

Leaving aside technical questions concerning the correctness of these relays, we should like to put forward two points in favour of retaining MacDonald's pillar as the true trijunction.

In the first place, Renny's survey was a compass survey, and however carefully a compass survey is made, it cannot be as accurate as a traverse survey. Such as MacDonald's, Col. Hirst was not engaged in discovering the true trijunction of Cooch Behar, Goalpara and Rangpur; as he states clearly in Appendix C of this report, he was demarcating the trijunction shown in Renny's map. It follows that any accuracy which there may have been in the compass survey, would not be corrected during Col. Hirst's demarcation of the Cooch Behar-Goalpara boundary.

The second reason for adhering to MacDonald's pillar is that it has been accepted as the true trijunction both during the Cooch Behar and the Rangpur cadastral surveys, and the boundary of the two surveys agrees. In the Cooch Behar 16" sheet, the boundary runs east from Col. Hirst's pillar to MacDonald's pillar and then back south-west along the common Rangpur boundary forming an acute angle at MacDonald's pillar. In this angle, and along the Rangpur boundary the plots are recorded in possession of Cooch Behar tenants.

It seems, therefore, desirable that the two sets of maps should be retained as they are, otherwise possession will be disturbed.

In the Rangpur cadastral map MacDonald's pillar is not only the trijunction point, but the starting point of Mr. O'Donel's award line between the Kashimbazar Estate of Rangpur and the Gauripur Estate of Goalpara. This was demarcated in 1925-26 and accepted by both parties. Commencing from MacDonald's pillar, this boundary runs south, and is demarcated by a number of pillars along its course. If MacDonald's pillar is not now accepted as the true trijunction this award line will be upset.

In the Cooch Behar 16" sheet, Col. Hirst's pillar has been treated as a boundary pillar between Goalpara and Cooch Behar, and not as the interprovincial trijunction. We consider that this is the correct solution, and recommend that MacDonald's pillar of 1875 should be declared to be the trijunction of Cooch Behar, Goalpara and Rangpur.

PART III.

APPENDIX I.—PREVIOUS SURVEYS AND BOUNDARY MARKS.

A note on the previous surveys on the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary.

Pemberton's.—The first Survey of Cooch Behar State was a Topographical Survey made by Mr. Pemberton, the Revenue Surveyor, in 1858.

O'Donel's R. S.—When Government took charge of the State in 1864 during the minority of His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Colonel Haughton carried out a Survey of the State to a scale of 4" to a mile, under Mr. O'Donel, Deputy Superintendent of Revenue Survey, who was specially deputed by Government for the purpose in 1868-70. This survey fixed the limits of taluks and defined the parganas as they now are. Pillars (103 in number) were also constructed along the common boundary line. Colonel Haughton's object was to create a middle class in the State akin to the zamindars and talukdars of Bengal who would, to quote his words, "from the bones and sinews of the country." He, therefore, proposed in 1864 that a Talukdari Settlement should be carried out in the State of Cooch Behar. Government, however, approved of a raiyatwari settlement, for which a 16" survey became indispensable.

First Settlement in Cooch Behar.—Following this order of Government, Bahu Issor Chandra Sen, a Deputy Collector of Bengal, was deputed to make a Settlement in Cooch Behar. Rahimganj, a tract, west of the Teesta, was selected to commence with, as being under khas management. The survey was made to a scale of 16" to a mile and the settlement concluded for 16 years from 1869 A.D. The commencement of the operation unsettled the public mind and it was then resolved to push on the work with the utmost possible speed. In 1870 Mr. W. O. A. Beckett was appointed Assistant Commissioner and placed in charge of Settlement. The work was concluded in 1875. The measurements were made with chain and compass and the areas computed to standard bighas, cottas and dhurs. The settlement was made pargana by pargana, the jote being taken as the unit. This is known as the first settlement of the State.

Renny.—After the Revenue Survey of 1868-70 there were some discrepancies on the Cooch Behar-Gavabari (Rangpur) boundary. Mr. H. R. Renny, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was specially empowered by the Government of Bengal for the determination of the boundary between Cooch Behar and Gayabari (Rangpur) which he did in 1873-74. His finding was accepted both by the State and the Government. He embedded 108 pillars during the course of his operations.

Price.—Later, a dispute arose near Durgapur of police-station Kaliganj from a petition submitted by certain Upanchowkidars of Rangpur in which they stated that they had been dispossessed by the Cooch Behar raiyats

of lands appertaining to their Upanchouki mahals.—Mr. Moran in 1874-75 relaid this boundary but his findings in some places were not accepted by Government and subsequently Mr. Price, a Surveyor to the Government of India, was deputed to relay this disputed boundary. He took up the boundary in 1889-90. Boundary pillars were erected along the line relaid by Mr. Price. Six pillars are found to have been embedded. A part only of his relay was accepted. Thus the demarcation made by him is not of much importance.

Judd.—In 1906 a dispute arose over the Chatnai boundary, police-station Dinila, and it became necessary to ascertain the real boundary. A conference was held in the Collector's bungalow at Rangpur at his request to ascertain the real position. As neither party could accept the other's views, it was decided that the matter should be referred to an expert—preferably the Surveyor-General of India for decision as to whether the river Bura Torsa (old) was included or excluded from the district of Rangpur by Mr. Pemberton. The Assistant Surveyor-General considered the west bank to be the boundary. The State accepted the above decision and proposed that the boundary should be relaid with the help of the traverse data received from the Surveyor-General's Office. The relay was undertaken by Mr. Judd, Assistant Superintendent of Surveys, in 1911 and interchange of possession took place as a result. Eleven permanent pillars were constructed along the common boundary of the State.

In connection with the boundary dispute between Maniram Das of Jhaikuthi (Cooch Behar) and the Maharaja of Cossimbazar in respect of Tilai in Rangpur district and at the request of the State authorities Mr. O'Donel relaid the disputed portion of the boundary as surveyed by Mr. R. H. Renny in 1874 from the trijunction of Cooch Behar, Goalpara and Rangpur to Mr. Renny's pillar No. 9, a distance of about 5½ miles in 1924 and the line was marked with 4 masonry and 34 ferro concrete pillars.

APPENDIX II.

No. 1057 T.R., dated Ramna (Dacca), the
11th August 1919.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. M. C. McAlpin,
I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of
Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Vice-President, State Council,
Cooch Behar.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1394, dated the 22nd March 1919, on the subject of the adjustment of boundaries between the Cooch Behar State and the districts of Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Goalpara.

2. As regards the boundary between the Cooch Behar State and Jalpaiguri, I am to observe that Mr. O'Donel surveyed the Jalpaiguri district in 1865-66 and Cooch

Behar in 1868-70. In 1892 Mr. Sunder, Settlement Officer of the Western Duars, made in survey for a Settlement of the Duars. The boundary between Jalpaiguri and the Cooch Behar State as laid down by Mr. Sunder, was objected to by the Cooch Behar State on certain points and it was, therefore, agreed that the boundary should be relaid on the basis of Mr. O'Donel's survey of Cooch Behar of 1868-70. It seems, therefore, that both Government and the Cooch Behar State have accepted Mr. O'Donel's map of Cooch Behar of 1868-70 as showing the *de jure* boundary.

3. It is stated in paragraph 1 of your letter referred to above that the discrepancies between the cadastral maps of Cooch Behar and those of Jalpaiguri are of three kinds, namely, (1) over-lapping, (2) total omission of small areas from both maps, (3) minor divergences such as are bound to occur when two independent surveyor's map on undemarcated line even through the line they are attempting to map is the same in both cases. The Governor in Council accepts your suggestion that the 3rd kind of difference should be disposed of by making the maps of Cooch Behar coincide with those of Jalpaiguri, but he sees no reason why a compulsory use of the Jalpaiguri cadastral maps should be made wherever cadastral maps are used. As regards the 1st and 2nd kinds of difference you suggest that they should be examined on the ground in the light of Mr. O'Donel's maps, the Jalpaiguri maps and the Cooch Behar maps, and that the actual boundary should thus be determined and marked on the ground. Both sets of maps should then be made to accord with this ascertained boundary. Where it is not possible or practicable to ascertain and mark on the ground the true *de jure* boundary, i.e., that of Mr. O'Donel's Survey of 1868-70, you suggest that a boundary by agreement should be settled and marked and mapped in both sets of maps; and the maps thus brought into harmony should be the last word in the matter for the future. In this connection I am to say that the Governor in Council would agree to straight lines or zig-zags being substituted for river boundaries, where practicable, so that in the aggregate neither side gained nor lost by comparison with the *de jure* boundary. You further suggest that if the above proposals are accepted, a boundary commission should be appointed to settle these differences. Subject to the above remarks His Excellency in Council accepts these proposals and agrees to the appointment of a Boundary Commission as suggested. The Commission should be composed of Major Hirst, Director of Surveys, Bengal, and a representative of the Cooch Behar State. The cost of incidental expenses such as demarcation, will be borne in equal shares by this Government and the Cooch Behar State. The Boundary Commissioners should be empowered to use the cadastral maps of Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar wherever necessary, so that the operations should not cause friction and unnecessary disturbance of present possession.

A set of comparative maps of the Jalpaiguri-Cooch Behar boundary have been prepared by the Director of Surveys, Bengal. These will be placed at the disposal of the Commission.

4. The boundary between Goalpara and the Cooch Behar State referred to in paragraph 3 of your letter is the subject of a separate correspondence at present.

5. As regards the Rangpur boundary, the Governor in Council accepts your proposal that the Cooch Behar maps be inked up now and a note recorded thereon that the boundary is liable to re-adjustment when Rangpur is cadastrally surveyed.

APPENDIX III.

No. 3272, dated Alipur, the 22nd August 1932.

From—Eai Bijay Bihari Mukharji Bahadur,
Director of Land Records and Surveys,
Bengal,

To—The Secretary to the Government of
Bengal, Revenue Department.

I have the honour to refer to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal's (Revenue Department) letter No. 1057 T.—R., dated the 11th August 1919, to the Vice-President, State Council, Cooch Behar, a copy of which letter was forwarded to the Director of Surveys, Bengal, with Revenue Department memorandum No. 1069 T.—R., dated the 11th August 1919, regarding the re-adjustment of the boundary between Cooch Behar State and the districts of Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Goalpara.

The readjustment of the boundary between the Cooch Behar State and the Jalpaiguri district was made by a Boundary Commissioner appointed in 1919, with Major Hirst, the then Director of Surveys, Bengal, as a representative of the Government of Bengal as also of the Cooch Behar State. The report of the Boundary Commission together with a set of maps prepared in this connection which were submitted to Government for consideration and order, with Director of Surveys, Bengal's letter No. 3766, dated the 23rd December 1920, were adopted both by Bengal Government and the Cooch Behar State, *vide* Government order No. 196 T.—R., dated the 9th May 1923.

2. As regards the boundary between the State and the district of Rangpur it was stated in paragraph 5 of Revenue Secretary's letter of 11th August 1919, referred to above that it should be readjusted when the cadastral survey of Rangpur was taken up. As the cadastral survey has already covered a large part of the boundary it is necessary from the point of view of economy and convenience of work (as the services of the expert staff now working in the district can be utilised for the purpose) to readjust the boundary at once. I therefore suggest that a Boundary Commission be appointed for the purpose with the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, and a representative from Cooch Behar State as Boundary Commissioner to represent the interest of the Bengal Government and the Cooch Behar State respectively.

3. In paragraph 12, Chapter I of Major Hirst's report on the Cooch Behar-Jalpaiguri boundary submitted with the Director of

Surveys, Bengal's letter of 23rd December 1920 referred to above it was suggested that the demarcation of the chits or enclaves of Jalpaiguri in Cooch Behar and of Cooch Behar in Jalpaiguri which was omitted from the operation of the Boundary Commission might be considered along with the adjustment of the Rangpur-Cooch Behar boundary. Accordingly a proposal was submitted to Government in the office letter No. 274, dated the 4th November 1931, for demarcation of the above enclaves along with those of Rangpur in Cooch Behar and Cooch Behar in Rangpur. But Government in reply informed this office in their memorandum No. 243-Jur., dated the 11th January 1932, that on account of financial stringency no provision for the work which is required to be made under "29-Political (Central)" could be made for the current financial year. Though it would be possible to carry on the demarcation work later on it would be uneconomical. The Settlement Party is doing the cadastral work of the area of Rangpur in Cooch Behar boundary in which the enclaves of Cooch Behar lie and near which the enclaves of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri within Cooch Behar lie. Survey and demarcation of the enclaves, therefore, if done now can be done along with the ordinary settlement operation and the additional cost will be the cost of the boundary pillars only. If the work is now postponed a special party will have to be sent to do the work later on at a much larger expense. The order referred to therefore may be reconsidered. If, however, demarcation be put off, the determination of the boundary by the Boundary Commission should be carried out.

Quite a number of boundary disputes has been held up for want of decision; to complete the work there it is necessary that the boundary should be determined by a Boundary Commission at the earliest possible date.

4. Though unconnected with the strict question of determining the boundary I would like the consideration of the question of starting negotiation for exchanging the enclaves on valuation, if possible. If this exchange can be effected, each of the districts and the State concerned will have a compact area and from the administrative point of view it would be a great advantage both to the State and to this Government.

5. As it is essential that the decision of the Boundary Commission should be incorporated in Settlement maps and records, early orders of the Government may be passed in the matter.

No. 472 T.—R., dated Darjeeling, the 19th June 1933.

From—H. C. V. Philpot, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Revenue Department,

To—The Vice-President, Regency Council,
Cooch Behar.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 89, dated the 12th April 1933, on the subject of adjustment of the boundary between the Cooch Behar State and the district of Rangpur.

2. In reply, I am to say that the maps and records have already been prepared for all the villages on the boundary and the final publication of the maps of these villages will not be possible until the boundary has been settled. If the settlement is delayed it will cause delay in the recovery of settlement costs and therefore from the point of view of this Government it is of great importance that the boundary should be settled as early as possible. Further, unless the work is completed while the settlement party is available there will be extra cost as a special party will have to be sent to do the work.

3. As regards the point raised in paragraph 2 of your letter I am to say that if a special officer is appointed to conduct the enquiries it will entail extra cost. This Government therefore would prefer that the Boundary Commission should consist of the Settlement Officer of Rangpur who will be able to do the work in addition to his own duties and a representative of the State. The Government of Bengal have, however, no objection, if the State so desire, that these officers should be instructed to refer any point on which they do not agree or which they consider to be of special difficulty to the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal, as representing the interests of both the Government and the State.

4. As regards the boundary line between Jhaukuthi (Cooch Behar) and Telai (Rangpur) from the trijunction of Cooch Behar and the districts of Goalpara and Rangpur, I am directed to say that Government agree with your suggestion that it is not necessary to adjust it as it has already been re-adjusted by Mr. O'Donel in 1924 and that its incorporation in the map on the completion of the work is sufficient.

5. I am to add that as the Government of India are not prepared to provide funds for boundary pillars at present, it is proposed that the boundary as decided should be shown on the finally published 16" maps of the Rangpur Settlement and the pillars should be posted later, where necessary, according to these maps which can easily be relaid as they are all connected with permanent trijunction marks on the ground. Further special pegs of bamboo surrounded by tin *chongas* may be embedded as the cost is negligible.

6. The favour of an early reply is requested.

No. 14992 Jur., dated Calcutta, the 22nd December 1933.

From—O. M. Martin, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department (offg.).

To—The Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 1/6-359, dated the 25th November 1933, and to say that Government accept your suggestion that the instructions issued in this department letter No. 1057 T.—R., dated the 11th August 1919, in connection with the adjustment of boundary between the Cooch Behar State and the district of Jalpaiguri should be followed

by the Boundary Commission appointed in Government order No. 766 T.—R., dated the 21st October 1933, to adjust the boundary between the Cooch Behar State and the district of Rangpur.

No. D. 3971-P/33, dated New Delhi, the 15th December 1933.

From—The Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

Construction of boundary pillars on the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 14357-Jur., dated the 8th December 1933, I am directed to convey sanction to the payment to the Cooch Behar Darbar in 1934-35 of a sum of Rs. 3,318-12 being a moiety of the cost to be incurred by them for the construction of boundary pillars on the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary. Steps are being taken to provide necessary funds in the budget estimates of 1934-35 under "29—Political (Central)".

No. 2949-Jur., dated Calcutta, the 21st March 1934.

From—Rai J. N. Sircar Bahadur, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal.

I am directed to refer to paragraph 4 of your letter No. 1/10-3272, dated the 22nd August 1932, regarding the proposal for exchanging the enclaves of the Cooch Behar State in the district of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri with those of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri in the Cooch Behar State and to say that in view of the strong local objections to the proposed exchange Government have decided to abandon the proposal.

N. C. MUSTAFI,

Commissioner for the Cooch Behar State.

M. O. CARTER,

Commissioner of the Government of Bengal.

PART IV.

In Part I of the Report the Boundary Commissioners explained that they were unable to take up the demarcation of the chit lands of Cooch Behar and Rangpur in 1933-34 and recommended that this work together with the demarcation of the Jalpaiguri chits should be completed in 1934-35. Orders to

take up the work in Rangpur and Cooch Behar were received by memorandum No. 419 of 27th November 1934, from the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal. In the meantime the personnel of the Commission was changed. Mr. M. O. Carter, I.C.S., was transferred from Rangpur and Mr. A. C. Hartley, I.C.S., was appointed in his stead. On account of their routine duties the Commissioners were unable to commence demarcation until the first week of February. The work was completed as follows. One small chit was, inadvertently omitted from the 1st operation but was demarcated on June 6th:—

	Days.
3-2-1935 to 22-2-1935	... 20
2-3-1935 to 15-3-1935	... 14
6-6-1935	... 1

The weather was exceptionally good, though hot, and only one day was lost on account of storms.

Owing to the scattered nature of the chits the progress was necessarily rather slow and on many occasions a full day had to be spent in moving from one chit to the next—

Financial Statement—

	Cooch Behar.	Rangpur.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Establishment ..	970 1 8	880 12 6	1,850 14 2
2. Travelling allowance ..	418 9 0	357 11 0	776 4 0
3. Contingent charges ..	325 12 9	200 0 0	525 12 9
Total ..	1,714 7 5	1,438 7 6	3,152 14 11

Pillars.—Pillars exactly similar to those embedded on the main boundary have been utilised. With the grant available it was obviously impossible to embed pillars at every main bending of each of the chit boundaries. We therefore decided to embed pillars on the boundary at points which would facilitate easy relay, if relay should be necessary. Thus where the boundary was disputed or indeterminate, pillars have been more freely embedded than where the boundary was clearly defined and recognised by both the Cooch Behar and Rangpur tenants. In all cases (except two diara areas described in Part V) the pillars provide points for a relay of the entire boundary. Generally, we found that the boundaries were undisputed and widely known. In all, 190 pillars were embedded over 93 miles of boundary. In addition to these we utilised existing pillars where possible. The existing pillars were either Revenue Survey pillars, Cooch Behar trijunction pillars, Cooch Behar Survey pillars or Rangpur trijunction stones. Cooch Behar trijunction pillars and Cooch Behar Survey pillars have been classed as masonry pillars (M. P.'s) in Part V and Revenue Survey pillars as R. S. pillars. In one or two cases where these pillars were found slightly off the boundary they have been plotted *in situ* and the fact noted in Part V.

Difficulties of survey.—The problems which arose were similar to those which have been elaborately discussed in Part I of the report. In general the maps agreed very well and

except in the few cases dealt with in detail in Part V the discrepancies in the maps were slight and did not represent any real discrepancy on the ground. The *ails* of a field, however, do tend to shift very slightly over a number of years and as the Rangpur Survey was the most recent the Rangpur line was adopted as the boundary in cases where the discrepancies were negligible. Where the discrepancies were considerable each case was decided on its merits. As a general rule present possession was maintained and in the one or two cases where there had been clear encroachment and alteration of *ails* the tenants agreed to reconstruct their old *ails*.

Office procedure.—The office procedure was simple. As both sets of chits were mapped by both cadastral surveys, the two surveys were compared and traces made of all discrepancies; these discrepancies were reconciled locally by the Commissioners.

1. **Recommendations.**—As the Boundary Commissioners are in complete agreement and there has been no difference of opinion between them, it is recommended that the boundary proposed and demarcated may be accepted as final and orders passed as early as possible.

2. Recommendations 6 and 7 of Part I.

3. In conclusion we should like again to express our thanks to the Cooch Behar State for the loan of four elephants throughout our field work and for the provision of tents and camp equipment. We also commend especially the work of Babu Jyotish Chandra Das Gupta, Sadar Kanungo, whose accurate knowledge and untiring energy contributed greatly to the rapid progress of our work.

The chits have been described in detail in Part V.

PART V.

A. RANGPUR CHITS LYING WITHIN COOCH BEHAR.

(1) *Angarpota J. L. No. 4, police-station Dimla* (2 sheets), maps 1 and 2.—There are discrepancies only in two places. Pillar A. P. I. is on the west boundary of the chit. Here three plots were included in both the Rangpur and Cooch Behar surveys. The plots are shown as part of Cooch Behar in the Revenue Survey maps and the maps of 1864. Present possession is also in favour of Cooch Behar and so the plots have been excluded from Rangpur though the Rangpur survey line has been followed as the Cooch Behar line was inaccurately plotted. From A. P. I. the boundary runs south to A. P. II on the edge of a road, then east to a Revenue Survey pillar in patit land. Here the boundary has been straightened to conform to present possession. From here to A. P. III the boundary marches with Jalpaiguri, and thence runs generally east to a road and north past a Revenue Survey pillar to A. P. IV at the north-east corner. The country is open and the boundary well

defined. From the north-east corner it runs west to A. P. V on the side of a road and then west again along a wooded tract to A. P. VI, north to a Revenue Survey pillar, west again over *ails* and then south down the west bank of a jola past A. P. VII to A. P. VIII. Here the boundary crosses the jola and continues down the east bank to A. P. IX, re-crossing and continuing west along a cart tract to a Revenue Survey pillar. Here a portion is diluviated and O'Donel's line, differing both from the Cooch Behar line and the Rangpur line has been relaid. The boundary then continues south along a Cooch Behar road to A. P. I.

2. *Bura Sarodubi J. L. No. 13, police-station Hatibandha, map 3.*—There was no discrepancy between the surveys. From a Revenue Survey pillar at the north-west corner the boundary runs south-east through bamboo jungle, then south and west to B. S. I on the edge of a village road and then south and east along well marked *ails* to B. S. II on the trijunction of Cooch Behar, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. An explanation is necessary here. The measurement on the ground from the trijunction to the west corner of the *ail* on which it stands is 563 links; on the map it measures only 526 links. This is due to the fact that the Cooch Behar maps were corrected, before 1919 in terms of the Jalpaiguri maps, where the discrepancies did not exceed 40 links. As the Government of Bengal has adopted this point as a trijunction there can be no objection now to using it as the site of a boundary pillar. From here and the river has been included within the bank of a *khaf* and then west along the *khal* to the first Revenue Survey pillar.

3. *Amjhol J. L. No. 57, police-station Hatibandha, Map 4.*—No discrepancy the chit is demarcated by two pillars A. I. and A. II.

4. *Bansua Khamar Gitaldaha J. L. No. 1, police-station Lalmonirhat, map 5.*—There was no discrepancy between the surveys. From B. K. G. I at the south-west corner of the chit, the boundary runs east and north along well marked *ails* and a road to B. K. G. II. The northern portion of the chit has been diluviated.

5. *Karala J. L. No. 9, police-station Fulbari, map 6.*—There are three detached chits of this village. The boundary of the largest chit runs from the south-east corner at a Revenue Survey pillar north along well marked *ails* past a buried Revenue Survey pillar to K. I, thence north past a Revenue survey pillar to another Revenue Survey pillar at the north-east corner. From here the boundary runs west across open country and through a patch of jungle to K. II near the edge of a beel (the pillar was placed on the boundary, a few chains back, to prevent it being silted over) then across the beel and through patit land to K. III in the site of a broken Revenue Survey pillar. The western boundary runs south from here through jungle and then along the high bank of a river, which is subject to erosion, to the Revenue Survey pillar at the south-east corner. It was not possible to place a pillar safely on the western boundary and so a

reference pillar (K. IV) was embedded a few chains from the bank of the river, half-way between K. III and the south-west corner. There are slight discrepancies due to difference of survey on the south-east boundary. The Rangpur line has been followed here.

The boundary of the larger of the remaining two chits runs north from K. V at the south-east corner. Both lines were found incorrect for some chains and a new line plotted and then the Cooch Behar line was followed as appertaining more closely to present possession. From the north-east corner there is no discrepancy. The boundary runs west along open *ails* to K. VI then south along a Cooch Behar road and over open country to the south-west corner and then east to K. V. On the south boundary there was a slight survey discrepancy and the Rangpur line was followed.

The smallest chit is one field demarcated by pillar K. VII at the south-east corner.

6. *Sib Prasad Mustafi J. L. No. 8, police-station Fulbari, maps 7 and 8.*—The boundary runs from pillar S. P. M. I in patit land near north-west corner across a beel to a Rangpur Δ in thick jungle near a large masonry pillar. The M. P. was wrongly plotted in the Rangpur maps as on the boundary. Thence the boundary runs east along the bank of a jola to S. P. M. II and turns north and east through thick jungle to S. P. M. III on a high river bank. A small detached portion to the north is well demarcated by two Revenue Survey pillars. From S. P. M. III the boundary runs south and then east past a Revenue Survey pillar across a river to S. P. M. IV in patit land on the site of a missing Revenue Survey pillar. Then south again, across the same river to S. P. M. V on a high *ail* and south-west along well marked field boundaries to a Revenue Survey pillar, turning west a few chains on till it reaches another Revenue Survey pillar at the south-west corner of the chit. The boundary then runs north through open country past an M. P. to S. P. M. I.

7. *Poatur Kuthi J. L. No. 37, police-station Bhurungamari, map 9.*—The boundary runs from a Revenue Survey pillar near the north-east corner along *ails* to P. K. I in a bamboo clump. There were some discrepancies and the Rangpur line was followed as agreeing with present possession. From P. K. I the boundary runs west along the bank of a beel to a Revenue Survey pillar, visible only at low water, and then turns south to P. K. II on an *ail* on the edge of the beel, thence south to a Rangpur Δ now half under water. The boundary leaves the beel here continuing south to P. K. III on a high *ail* by the bank of a dry river bed, and then swings south-east and then east along the edge of the bed, past a Revenue Survey pillar, to another Revenue Survey pillar at the south-east corner of the chit. The boundary then runs north through open country to the Revenue Survey pillar at the starting point.

8. *Paschim Bakalir Chhara J. L. No. 38, police-station Bhurungamari, map 10.*—There were considerable discrepancies here in the low-lying beel area. The Rangpur line

was found to agree with present possession and was followed throughout. Pillar P. B. I is on an *ail* in low swampy ground on the south and from here the boundary runs south for a few chains and then west to a Revenue Survey pillar, then north along *ails*, across a beel and across the Railway line to P. B. II and then generally north-east through open country to an M. P. at the north-east corner, then south across the Railway line to an M. P. in low swampy ground at the south-east corner. From here the boundary runs west to P. B. I.

9. *Madhya Bakalir Chhara J. L. No. 39, police-station Bhurungamari, map 11.*—The maps agree. The boundary runs along well marked *ails* through open country and is demarcated by pillar M. B. I at the north-west corner.

10. *Purba Bakalir Chhara J. L. No. 40, police-station Bhurungamari, map 12.*—The maps agree. The boundary runs along well marked *ails* through open country demarcated by pillar P. B. I at the north-east corner.

11. *Durgapur sheet No. 3 J. L. No. 83, police-station Kaliganj, map 13.*—A small chit of which the southern half has been diluviated by the river Dharla. There is a slight discrepancy between the maps but the Rangpur line has been followed as agreeing with present possession. The boundary is demarcated by pillar D. I at the north-west corner.

12. *Batrigachh J. L. No. 81, police-station Kaliganj, maps 14 and 15.*—This is a large chit consisting of two detached portions and enclosing a small fragment of Cooch Behar.

The three portions are dealt with separately.—

(a) *Larger fragment.*—The western boundary was demarcated in 1933-34 by six pillars. For the rest of the boundary the maps agree. From reference pillar B. IV the boundary runs east across low sandy char land to B. VII on an old river bank and then circuitously to B. VIII near the river bank, and then east, through open country to an M. P. at the south-east corner of the chit and then north to another M. P. a few chains off. From here it runs north-west through open country to B. IX and north again along *ails* and through *bastis* and bamboos to an M. P. and thence to B. X in patit land near a clump of bamboos at the north-east corner. Then west along a Rangpur road to an M. P. in patit land and west again to B. XI on the site of a broken Cooch Behar Δ and west again past an M. P. to pillar B. I, embedded in 1933-34.

(b) *Smaller fragment.*—This chit consists of a stretch of waste sand reformed from the Dharla. The eastern corner was relayed from permanent points on the neighbouring *kayem* land and demarcated by pillar B. XII. As the whole char is subject to diluvion no further pillars were embedded. If a relay of the boundary is thought necessary it can be done from the pillar B. XII and fixed points on the *kayem* land.

(c) *Madnakura Chit No. 155, pargana Dinhatu.*—This is a small chit of Cooch

Behar within the Rangpur chit is well demarcated by seven M. P's and one pillar M. I.

13. *Kismat Batrigachh J. L. No. 82, police-station Kaliganj, map 16.*—The maps agree. The boundary runs from pillar K. B. I on the north westward over *ails* to K. B. II at north-west corner and then south past an M. P. to the south-west corner close to another M. P. and then east over well marked *ails* to K. B. III and on through open country to another M. P. near the south-east corner and then north to K. B. IV in open country. From here it continues north and then west to an M. P. through bamboos and then along a Rangpur village path to K. B. I. There had been some encroachment on the road by Cooch Behar tenants. They however agreed to reconstruct it.

14. *Purba Chit Masaldanga J. L. No. 10, police-station Bhurungamari, map 17.*—The maps agree. The chit consists of two detached portions. The boundary of the larger portion runs from pillar P. C. M. I situated in open country at the south-west corner, east to P. C. M. II at south-east corner and north along a road and the side of a beel to P. C. M. III in low-lying land and south again to P. C. M. I.

The smaller portion is a tiny plot in the middle of a beel. The boundaries were not locally known and it was relayed with some difficulty and demarcated by pillar P. C. M. IV and P. C. M. V at the south-west and north-west corners respectively. The remainder of the plot was under deep water.

15. *Madhya Chit Masaldanga J. L. No. 8, police-station Bhurungamari, map 18.*—A large portion of the chit lies in beel land and errors were found in both sets of maps. Possession was not disputed and so the new line was plotted. This involved very little change in area or in general configuration. The boundary runs from pillar M. C. M. I in low land at south-east corner, northwards M. C. M. II at north-east corner, then west through open country to M. C. M. III then circuitously through open country to M. C. M. IV on the edge of a bamboo clump and thence south and east to M. C. M. I.

16. *Pashim Chit Masaldanga J. L. No. 7, police-station Bhurungamari, map 19.*—The maps agree. The chit was demarcated by pillars P. C. M. I at south-west and P. C. M. II at the north-west.

17. *Purba Masaldanga J. L. No. 11, police-station Bhurungamari, map 20.*—The discrepancies were of a minor nature except in the south-west pillar P. M. I on the south boundary is on the edge of a beel on the site of an old masonry pillar. The boundary runs south-east through *pundi* jungle along the edge of a beel and then north to P. M. II and north and then west following the Rangpur line, which agrees with present possession, to an M. P. Then north and east through open country to P. M. III and north again through open country and west through jungle to P. M. IV at the north-west corner. Then south and west through jungle and open country to P. M. V on the edge of a stretch of jungle and then south through

jungle and over open *ails* to P. M. VI on a high *ail*. From here the boundary runs south through dense jungle to the edge of a beel where it turns west running along the edge of the beel to P. M. VII and then south to P. M. VIII at the south-west corner of the chit. Here the discrepancies were large owing to change in the configuration of the beel since the Revenue Survey and Cooch Behar surveys. The previous surveys, however, show that at all times the water was in Rangpur and the land in Cooch Behar. Present possession, on the basis of which the Rangpur maps were made, recognises this also. The water in the beel no longer flows and so future changes will be inconsiderable. In view of these facts the Rangpur line, embodying present possession, was accepted.

18. *Uttar Masaldanga J. L. No. 2, police-station Bhurungamari, map 21.*—Pillar U. M. I is in open country at the south-west corner. From here the boundary runs north to U. M. II and east through bamboo and open country to U. M. III, following the Rangpur line which agrees with present possession. The Cooch Behar maps show a chit of taluk Salmara within the Rangpur chit. This was found to be an integral part of Salmara and so was not demarcated. From U. M. III the boundary runs circuitously to U. M. IV at the north-east corner and then south and west through marshy land to U. M. V and west again to U. M. I.

19. *Dakshin Masaldanga J. L. No. 6, police-station Bhurungamari, maps 22 and 23 Kachua J. L. No. 5, police-station Bhurungamari, map 24.*—This consists of one large chit and six detached fragments of Dakshin Masaldanga and of Kachua which is joined to the large chit of Dakshin Masaldanga and has been demarcated along with it.

(a) Pillar D. M. I is on the side of a road on the east boundary of the main chit. The boundary runs circuitously north-west and east along well marked *ails* to D. M. II following the Rangpur line which agrees with present possession and then north, again following the Rangpur line, past two masonry pillars, to D. M. III on the site of a broken masonry pillar. From here it runs north again to a masonry pillar on a well marked *ail* and then west through bamboo and open country to D. M. IV. Then south and west following the Rangpur line over open country to D. M. V and then south-west over well marked *ails* to D. M. VI and then south, by a tortuous course to D. M. VII. From here it runs south for a few chains and then north-east to the edge of a beel. At this point a plot was included wrongly in Cooch Behar maps. It has always been possessed by Rangpur and is not included in Cooch Behar in the Revenue Survey map. It has now been included in Rangpur. From here the boundary runs south along the edge of the beel to pillar K. I. at the trijunction of Dakshin Masaldanga, Cooch Behar and Kachua and then continues south-west along Kachua over well marked *ails* to K. II and then north-west by circuitous *ails* to K. III, following the Rangpur line. Then north

then west and then south through open country and jungle to K. IV on a well marked *ail* and then east to K. V on the edge of a dead river. Then for some distance the boundary follows the north bank of the river. The river is in possession of tenants who pay rent to nobody. It was included in Cooch Behar by the Cooch Behar cadastral maps and in Rangpur by the Rangpur cadastral maps. The Rangpur maps were based on the Rangpur Revenue Survey of 1857 and the Cooch Behar maps on the basis of O'Donel's survey of 1868-70. Government has accepted O'Donel's line as the "*de jure*" boundary. Since it does not upset present possession it has been accepted here the boundary runs east and north to Cooch Behar. Leaving the river bed, the boundary runs east to an M. P. and north-east to another M. P. on the edge of a beel, north and east through open country to D. M. IX.

(b) Fragment I is demarcated by D. M. X on the south boundary.

(c) Fragment II is demarcated by D. M. XI at the south-east corner.

(d) Fragment III is demarcated by D. M. XII on the western boundary and D. M. XIII at the north-east corner.

(e) Fragment IV is demarcated by D. M. XIV on north, and D. M. XV at the south-east corner.

(f) Fragment V is demarcated by D. M. XVI at the north-east corner.

(g) Fragment VI is demarcated by D. M. XVII at the south-west corner in bamboo jungle, D. M. XVIII in bamboo jungle at the north-west corner, D. M. XIX at the north-east corner and D. M. XX at the south-east corner.

20. *Madhya Masaldanga J. L. No. 3, police-station Bhurungamari, map 25, including Cooch Behar Chit Mansab Seoraguri No. 154, pargana Dinhat.*—The maps agree except for minor discrepancies and the Rangpur line has been followed. Pillar M. M. I is in open country at south-west corner. From here the boundary runs circuitously north through low land to M. M. II. This pillar was relaid in a field the *ails* of which had been altered since the last survey. The tenants were instructed to rebuild the original *ails*. The boundary then runs north and north-east across *ails* and along the side of a jola and then south across the jola to an M. P. in a bamboo clump. Then south again through bamboo and jungle to M. M. III on the edge of a large beel and then south across the beel to M. M. IV on kayem land, south-east to M. M. V and directly west to M. M. I.

Chit Mansab Seoraguri is demarcated by pillar M. S. I at north-east corner and M. S. II on south boundary.

21. *Paschim Masaldanga J. L. No. 4, police-station Bhurungamari, map 26.*—This consists of a main chit and a detached plot.

In the main chit the maps agree. The boundary runs from pillar P. M. I at the junction of a bamboo plot and a jola on the

south-west corner, east and north over open country to P. M. II, then north to P. M. IV at north-east corner and west to P. M. V at north-west corner.

In the detached plot, demarcated by P. M. III the Cooch Behar maps agreed with present possession and were followed.

22. *Uttar Dhaladanga J. L. No. 14, police-station Bhurungamari, map 27.*—This consists of three detached portions.

(a) Portion I is a *beel* and some surrounding uncultivated lands. Possession is indeterminate and the two maps vary considerably. The tenants, however, were able to show the remains of the four masonry pillars which demarcated the chit in the Cooch Behar Survey of 1875. Present possession is not affected if these boundaries are followed, nor is the total area involved much affected. These pillars have therefore been followed and pillars U. D. Nos. 1, II and III embedded on the side of the old pillars at the north-east, north-west and south-west corners respectively. The M. P. at south-east corner was in good condition and was left.

(b) In portion II the maps agree. The chit is a partially dried up jola with well marked banks and is demarcated by U. D. IV on a high bank at the north-west corner, U. D. V across the jola at the north-east corner, U. D. VI at south-east corner and U. D. VII, across the jola again at the south-west corner.

(c) In portion III the maps agree except for minor discrepancies in the east which has been diluviated by the Gadadhar river. The chit has been demarcated by pillars U. D. VIII and U. D. IX at the north-west and south-west corners respectively. The east portion has not been demarcated as it is subject to diluvion.

23. *Chit Tilai J. L. No. 17, police-station Bhurungamari, map 28.*—The east boundary of the chit was previously demarcated as part of the Cooch Behar-Goalpara (Assam) boundary. From the pillar at the north-east the boundary runs west over open country to C. T. I, then south to C. T. II at the foot of the high bank of a dead river, then west to C. T. III in patit land, south to C. T. IV and south-east to a Bengal, Assam, Cooch Behar Δ stone. All the points had to be relaid and the tenants were instructed to build fresh *ails*.

B.—COOCH BEHAR CHITS LYING WITHIN RANGPUR.

1. *Chit Bara Khankibari No. 28, pargana Mekliganj, map 29.*—From pillar B. K. I the boundary runs east to B. K. II and north to B. K. III. There was a small discrepancy and the Rangpur line was followed according to present possession. Then east through patit, to a Rangpur Δ and south, through low swampy ground to B. K. IV following the Rangpur line according to present possession, then west to B. K. V following first the Rangpur line and then the Cooch Behar line according to present possession.

The boundary then runs south to a stone pillar and then west following a ~~new~~ line between the two surveys and then again north following the Rangpur line to B. K. VI and then west over open country, past an M. P. to B. K. VII and north to B. K. VIII.

2. *Chit Bara Khanki Kharija Gitaldaha No. 29, pargana Mekliganj, map 30.*—The maps agree. The chit was demarcated by pillars B. K. I—IV.

3. *Chit Bara Khanki Kharija Gitaldaha No. 30, pargana Mekliganj, map 31.*—The maps agree. The chit was demarcated by pillars B. K. V—VIII.

4. *Chit Nagarjikabari No. 31, pargana Mekliganj, map 32.*—From pillar N. J. 1. at the north-west corner the boundary runs south and west to the bank of a river. Here a plot was omitted by both surveys. The tenant claims the plot as in possession of Rangpur and Cooch Behar does not claim the plot, so present possession was followed. The boundary then runs south following the relay of the Revenue Survey and then east to N. J. II following the Cooch Behar line according to present possession and then north to N. J. III and N. J. IV in open country.

5. *Chit Gotamari Nos. 135 and 136, pargana Lalbazar, map 33.*—The chit consists of two detached portions. The maps agree in both portions. The boundary of the north portion runs from pillar G. I at north-west corner, eastwards through open country to G. II and G. III and then south along a road and back by well defined boundaries past G. IV to G. I.

The southern portion is demarcated by G. V and G. VI. The boundary between these pillars runs through jungle and can be relaid when necessary by an inter-pillar line.

6. *Chit Banspachai Bhitarkuthi No. 152, pargana Dinhata, map 34.*—The boundary runs from pillar B. I on a high *ail* near the south-east corner, south-wards down the centre of an old river bed, past a Rangpur Δ to B. II by the side of a road at the S end of the chit. Then N. past an R. S. pillar to B. III and from there to the edge of the river. The boundary then runs south and east close to the bank of the river. Present possession of Cooch Behar extends up to the river and as this agrees in general configuration with the Cooch Behar line it was adopted as the boundary. The shifting from the Cooch Behar line is accounted for by alluvion and diluvion, but change on this account will be negligible in the future as the river is shrinking in volume. We therefore considered that present possession was the most satisfactory basis on which to proceed.

7. *Chit Banspachai No. 151, pargana Dinhata, map 35.*—The chit has been almost entirely diluviated and has reformed as low-lying uncultivated sandy char. We decided it was useless to embed pillars in the sand which was still subject to diluvion. The western extremity is on Kayem land and a pillar B. I has been embedded here.

8. *Chit Dasiar chhara No. 150, pargana Dinhata, maps 36, 37, 38 and 39.*—This is a large chit, containing a small Rangpur chit. The discrepancies are considerable in places.

(a) Pillar D. C. I is on a high *ail*. From here the boundary runs east for a few chains and then south through a beel to D. C. II. In the beel possession is indeterminate and so the boundary was straightened and the new line explained to the tenants. The new boundary runs just between the two lines and forms a basis for easy recognition of possession, and easy relay. From here the line runs south to an M. P. near the bank of a dead river. The Cooch Behar line was followed here according to present possession. From a few links south of the M. P. the boundary runs north-east along the bank of the dead river to a Rangpur Δ and south along the foot of the high bank, following the Rangpur line according to present possession to D. C. III and thence continues south-west to D. C. IV. Here it turns west and runs through open country well demarcated by M. P.'s finally turning north at a Rangpur Δ to an M. P. on the southern bank of the Nilkumar river. From this point past D. C. V up to D. C. VI both sets of maps show the river to be in Rangpur. Cooch Behar, however, claims the river on the basis of the Revenue Survey maps. The subject was broached with the Bengal Government by letter No. I (Appendix A) to the Commissioner, Rajshahi Division. In letter No. II the Commissioner forwarded the opinion of the Collector of Rangpur that according to the Revenue Survey and thak maps this portion of the river fell within Cooch Behar. The Commissioner in his letter (II) asked the State if they accepted this or preferred to have the matter examined by the Boundary Commission. In letter No. III the Revenue Officer of the State recommended to the Regency Council that the opinion of the Collector be accepted. In letter No. IV the Commissioner was informed of this and it was also suggested that the demarcation should be made by the Boundary Commission. From this it is clear that this portion of the river (from the M. P. to D. C. VI) should be included in Cooch Behar. We have done this as it does not affect present possession, since the State has zemindary right in the adjacent Rangpur mauza. The State has also undertaken not to upset present possession which is clear and undisputed. At D. C. VI the boundary recrosses the river and runs north along the bank to D. C. VII following the Rangpur line according to present possession then west to a Rangpur Δ then north and east along the bank of the river to D. C. VIII and on to a Rangpur Δ and M. P. and so back to D. C. I.

(b) In the small chit of Chandrakona J. L. No. 20, police-station Phulbari, there is no discrepancy of importance. The chit is demarcated by three pillars C. I—III.

9. *Chit Kalamati No. 141, pargana Dinhata, map 40.*—The maps agree. Pillar K. I is at the north-west corner on the bank of a dead river. The boundary runs south through open country to K. II on a high *ail*

and along the side of a beel, through jungle, to K. III in low land. Here the *ails* have been altered since the two surveys and tenants have been instructed to rebuild the old *ails*. The boundary then runs north and then west to K. I.

10. *Chit Sahebganj No. 153, pargana Dinhata, map 41.*—The maps agree. Pillar S. I. is at the south-west corner in open country. From here the boundary runs north to S. II and then circuitously to S. III. This area was jungle at the time of the Revenue Survey and the boundary does not correspond to the present *ails*. It can however be relaid by a line from S. II to S. III. From S. III the boundary runs along the edge of high land to S. I.

11. *Chit Sentikursa No. 142, pargana Dinhata, map 42.*—The maps agree. Pillar S. K. I. is in open land near south-west corner. From here the boundary runs north through open land to S. K. II and then south-east to S. K. III, then through jungle to the south-east corner (near a masonry pillar on the main boundary) and then west to S. K. I.

12. *Chit Bara Gaochulka No. 143, pargana Dinhata, map 43.*—The maps agree. Pillar B. G. I lies in open country near the south-west corner. The boundary runs east and then north through open country to B. G. II, just south of a road, then west and north again across the road to B. G. III on the edge of jungle, then west to north-west corner and south and east to B. G. IV.

13. *Chit Gaochulka Nos. 146 and 147, pargana Dinhata, map 44.*—This consists of two detached portions. In the first portion pillar G. I lies in open country at north-east corner. The boundary runs west through open country to G. II, following Rangpur line. Then south through jungle to the bank of a dead river, south-east along the high bank and east to G. III, then further east through jungle and north to G. I.

The second portion is demarcated by pillars G. IV and G. V at the north-east and north-west corner respectively. The boundaries follow the Rangpur line according to present possession. The southern portion is in jungle and hence no pillar has been embedded.

14. *Chit Dighaltari 2nd portion No. 145, pargana Dinhata, map 44.*—Pillar D. I is at the south-west corner. The Rangpur map appears to have been prepared by relaying the Cooch Behar line, thus both maps agree with each other but do not agree with present possession. If the western boundary is shifted slightly east the maps agree with present possession and with the old *ails* on the ground. This has been done. The boundary runs east through bamboo north and then east to D. II, on the edge of a bamboo clump, then north through bamboo and patit and west again to D. III. Here both maps agree, but disagree with long standing possession. Again the Rangpur map appears to be a mere relay of the Cooch Behar line. In this case too we have followed present possession. From here the boundary runs south and then west and south again to D. I.

15. *Chit Digaltari 1st portion No. 144, pargana Dinhata, map 45.*—The maps agree. Pillar D. I. is at the south-east corner opposite an old M. P. The boundary runs north to an M. P. then west to D. II on a high soil, then west and south to D. III and east to D. I.

16. *Chit Chhota Garaljhara Part I, No. 148, pargana Dinhata, map 46.*—The boundary runs north from a masonry pillar on south-west corner, following Rangpur line according to present possession, and then east to an M. P., north to C. G. I and along the centre of a jola, past C. G. II, back to the south-west corner.

17. *Chit Chhota Garaljhara Part II, No. 149, pargana Dinhata, map 47.*—The discrepancies are slight and the Rangpur line has been followed. From pillar C. G. I on the east the boundary runs south and west to C. G. II, then north through open country to C. G. III, on the edge of jungle, then east and south again to C. G. I.

N. C. MUSTAFI,

Commissioner for Cooch Behar State.

A. C. HARTLEY,

Commissioner for the Government of Bengal.

APPENDIX A.

I.

No. 811, dated Cooch Behar, the 30th July 1931.

From—K. Evans-Gordon, Esq., Vice-President, Regency Council,

To—The Commissioner, Rajshahi Division, and Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State, Jalpaiguri.

I have the honour to forward a copy of letter No. 795/32-16, dated the 12th June 1931, of the Revenue Officer of the State (with enclosures) on the subject of the inclusion of the Nilkumar Nadi (a dead river) in the State chit or enclave named Dasiarchhara within pargana Purbabhag of the Rangpur district.

It will be seen from the Revenue Officer's report that the upheaved bed of the Nilkumar Nadi or river which forms the western, southern and partly the eastern boundary of the Dasiarchhara chit or enclave has been settled in jote right by the Manager of the Chaklajat Estates belonging to His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar, as forming part of the adjoining taluks in Pargana Purbabhag (Rangpur). In the Thak and Revenue Survey maps the Nilkumar Nadi was included in the State chit, Dasiarchhara, but as according to a subsequent private survey made by the Chaklajat Estates in 1878-79 the river had been included in the adjoining mauzas of the Purbabhag Tahsil, the upheaved bed of the

river was settled by the Manager with the tenants of the estates on the basis of this private survey, as forming part of the zemindari of His Highness.

As the Revenue Survey map of the State does not clearly show the position of the whole of the Nilkumar river in respect of the Government taluks adjoining it, copies were obtained of the Revenue Survey maps of those taluks, viz., Kishamatkuti Chandrakhana, Chandrakhana and Sujanerkuti. These maps clearly show that at the Revenue Survey the Nilkumar Nadi was excluded from these taluks. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this river was surveyed as forming part of the State chit Dasiarchhara at the Revenue Survey.

In the State Survey map of 1870-75 the whole of the river was excluded from the chit. The private survey made by the Chaklajat Estates in 1878-79 followed this line. Again in the Cadastral Survey of the State concluded in 1927 only a part of the river forming the eastern boundary of the Dasiarchhara chit was included in the chit. It seems very probable, as stated by the Revenue Officer that no objection was raised at these surveys to the inclusion of State lands in the Chaklajat Estates, as the river though excluded from the State still remained the property of His Highness, as part of his zemindari.

In the circumstances, as the Revenue Survey map is the only authoritative map subsequently prepared, the Regency Council are of opinion that the boundary of the Dasiarchhara chit should be relaid according to the Revenue Survey map of 1856-57 so that all future complications may be avoided.

A comparative map of chit Dasiarchhara showing the different survey lines is enclosed for easy reference. I would request that you will be so good as to move the Government of Bengal to take necessary action in the matter.

True copy,

S. C. CHOWDHURI,

Superintendent, Revenue Office, Cooch Behar.

II.

No. 4534J., dated Jalpaiguri, the 21st November 1931.

From—The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State,

To—The Vice-President, Regency Council, Cooch Behar.

With reference to your letter No. 811, dated the 30th July 1931, regarding inclusion of the Nilkumar Nadi (dead river) in the State chit or enclave named Dashiarchhara within pargana Purbabhag of the Rangpur district, I have the honour to forward herewith for information a copy of letter No. 7276G., dated the 3th November 1931,

from the Collector of Rangpur, together with 4 maps and a copy of the report submitted by the Khas Mahal Officer on the subject. The Collector has agreed with the Khas Mahal Officer.

I would request you to let me know if the State accepts this finding or would like to have the point further examined by the Settlement Officer of Rangpur, the Survey and Settlement having now commenced.

2. The maps sent herewith should please be returned with your reply.

No. 1591, dated Cooch Behar, the 8th December 1931.

Memo. by—Mahim Chandra Mukherjee, Esq.,
Registrar, Regency Council, Cooch Behar.

Copy, with copies of enclosures and the maps in original, forwarded to the Revenue Officer of the State for favour of a report, with the request that the maps may be returned when done with.

No. 7276G., dated Rangpur, the 6th November 1931.

From—T. M. Dow, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Rangpur,

To—The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division.

With reference to your memorandum No. 2923J., dated the 6th August 1931, I have the honour to send herewith a copy of the report submitted by my Khas Mahal Officer, regarding the position of the river Nilkumar together with a copy of the Revenue Survey map and 2 copies of the Thak maps. The report covers all the points under enquiry and I agree with him.

The Thak maps may be returned to this office when done with.

The enclosures received with your memorandum No. 2923J., dated the 6th August 1931, are returned herewith.

I have seen the Revenue Survey sheet (main circuit No. 10, sheet No. 26). A copy of the map chit Dasiarchhara showing the position of the mauzas surrounding it and of the river Nilkumar is enclosed for easy reference. In the Revenue Survey map the boundaries of the mauzas within pargana Purbabhag belonging to the Government have been shown with yellow shade and those of the Cooch Behar State mauzas with blue shade. The river Nilkumar has been shown in green colour, i.e., it is neither within the yellow shade nor within blue shade. This fact at the first sight of the map leads to a confusion as to the position of the river but a careful examination of the map will show that a part of the river was included within Kismat Koti Chandrakhana and Taluk Chandrakhana belonging to the Government at the Revenue Survey.

In the Revenue Survey map the mauza boundaries are generally shown by black lines. The line A, B, C, D, E as marked by me in the copy of the map enclosed is clearly a black line and is therefore the boundary line between chit Dasiarchhara belonging to the Cooch Behar State on the east and Kismat Kooti Chandrakhana and Taluk Chandrakhana belonging to the Government on the west. So that part of the river Nilkumar which lies on the west of the line A, B, C, D, E entirely belongs to the Government and the remaining portion of the river, i.e., the portion lying along the lines F, G, H, I, J, K appears to belong to the Cooch Behar State.

To be more definite on this point it was thought necessary that we should refer to the Thak map. Copies of the Thak maps of Kismat Kooti Chandrakhana and Taluk Chandrakhana were obtained from the office of the Board of Revenue. The Thak maps fully corroborate the Revenue Survey map and the above conclusion.

It will appear from the Thak maps also that the portion of the river Nilkumar lying on the west side of the Cooch Behar State mauza Chit Dasiarchhara is entirely included within the Government mauzas Kismat Kooti Chandrakhana and Taluk Chandrakhana.

In the circumstances the inclusion in the Cooch Behar State of the dried up bed of the river lying along the west side of the line A, B, C, D, E as proposed by the Cooch Behar State will affect the rights of Government as Cooch Behar State will naturally apply for remission of the present revenue. As the remaining portion of the river appears to belong to the Cooch Behar State both according to the Revenue Survey and Thak maps its inclusion in that State will naturally lead to the similar application for remission of revenue. But as State is entitled to it there cannot be any good objection to such remission.

The copies of the Thak maps of Kismat Chandrakhana and Taluk Chandrakhana may be sent to the Commissioner for favour of his perusal with the request that they may be returned to this office when done with.

Submitted to Collector.

C. C. BHATTACHARJEE,
Khas Mahal Officer.

III.

No. 1738/32-10, dated Cooch Behar, the 12th August 1932.

From—Srijut Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta,
B.L., Revenue Officer, Cooch Behar State,

To—Her Highness the President, Regency Council, Cooch Behar.

With reference to the Regency Council memorandum No. 884, dated the 9th July 1932, asking for a report on the letter No. 4534J., dated the 21st November 1931,

from the Commissioner, Rajshahi Division, and Political Agent, Cooch Behar State, containing the findings of the Collector of Rangpur in respect of the position of the Nilkumar Nadi between Dasiarchhara chit No. 150 of the Cooch Behar State and taluks Kismat Kootee Chandrakhana No. 136, Chandrakhana No. 139 and Kismat Sujanerkuti No. 131 of Rangpur, I have the honour to state that I have carefully gone through the maps and the report and am of opinion that the findings of the Collector of Rangpur in respect of the boundary between Dasiarchhara chit No. 150 and Taluks Kismat Kootee Chandrakhana No. 136, Chandrakhana No. 139 and Kismat Sujanerkuti No. 131 may be accepted.

In this connection I beg to point out that from the report of the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, it appears that there are some discrepancies between the Cooch Behar State and the Rangpur Cadastral maps in respect of the boundary of Azoatari J. L. 65 of Nageswari thana and Dasiarchhara. No other reports have yet been received from the Settlement Officer in respect of the boundaries between Dasiarchhara and other neighbouring taluks of Rangpur.

From the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Jurisdiction Branch, letter No. 1057T.—R., dated the 11th August 1919, to the address of the Vice-President, State Council, Cooch Behar, it appears that the boundary between Cooch Behar and Rangpur is liable to re-adjustment when Rangpur is cadastrally surveyed. As such I recommend that the demarcation of the boundary between Dasiarchhara and the neighbouring British Taluks may be postponed for the present and may be taken up when the boundary Commission for the re-adjustment of Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary takes place.

True copy.

S. C. CHOWDHURI,

Superintendent, Revenue Office, Cooch Behar.

IV.

No. 1310, dated Cooch Behar, the 17th August 1932.

From—K. A. G. Evans-Gordon, Esq., Vice-President, Regency Council, Cooch Behar State,

To—The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State, Jalpaiguri.

Inclusion of the Nilkumar Nadi in the State chit called Dasiarchhara within the pargana Purbabhag of the Rangpur district.

With reference to your memorandum No. 2452J., dated the 20th June 1932, forwarding a copy of a letter No. 2995G. of the 8th idem, from the Collector of Rangpur on the above subject, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter No. 1738/32-10, dated the 12th August 1932, from the Revenue Officer of the State and to state that as recommended by the Revenue Officer the Regency Council accept the findings of the Collector of Rangpur in respect of the boundary between Dasiarchhara chit No. 150 and Taluks Kismatkuti Chandrakhana No. 136, Chandrakhana No. 139 and Kismat Sujanerkuti No. 131.

For reasons stated by the Revenue Officer in the last 2 paragraphs of his enclosed letter I am to request that the demarcation of the boundary between Dasiarchhara and the neighbouring British Taluks may be postponed for the present and may be taken up when the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary is re-adjusted.

True copy.

S. C. CHOWDHURI,

Superintendent, Revenue Office, Cooch Behar.

APPENDIX III.

Statistics of Tenancies and Rents.

Serial No.	Name of thana.	In the direct occupation of—																			
		Proprietors.						Rent free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.		Temporary tenure-holders.		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.		Other classes.	
		As private lands.			Not as private lands.			No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.
1		2																			
1	Phutchari ..	..	..	96	31,900·64	18	34·70	..	..	7	5·90	32	34·83	408	1,515·02	..	..	..	..	38	55·34
2	Gaibandhá ..	..	..	408	5,898·69	288	93·52	6	2·96	632	311·21	1,584	1,739·10	151	133·28	..	..	..	..	94	125·61
3	Gobindaganj ..	..	..	853	4,797·07	1,010	468·30	13	NIL	1,408	1,326·61	556	2,006·56	33	280·53	..	..	..	..	282	463·35
4	Palasbari ..	..	..	514	824·80	441	164·98	3	74	343	143·80	464	282·02	24	11·71	2	NIL	..	..	100	64·27
5	Sadullapur ..	..	..	363	945·71	352	376·49	1	NIL	340	262·85	843	744·12	59	206·85	..	..	..	..	104	101·16
6	Saghata ..	..	..	205	5,097·48	48	34·74	2	34	292	2,085·50	436	981·25	27	101·60	..	..	..	..	12	6·51
7	Sunderganj ..	..	..	259	6,913·97	983	424·79	4	NIL	365	334·23	2,189	1,912·86	152	181·81	..	..	..	..	96	89·97
8	Bhurungamari ..	..	..	144	2,505·34	50	45·10	4	NIL	46	205·97	335	523·10	2,105	4,871·41	..	..	..	..	19	15·27
9	Chilmari ..	..	..	105	16,449·90	111	57·52	1	NIL	68	98·06	868	1,780·34	84	723·11	..	..	..	..	14	13·07
10	Fulbari ..	..	..	132	2,740·25	331	220·90	..	..	146	131·32	1,150	1,409·02	17	13·29	..	..	..	..	3	1·45

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	In the direct occupation of—																		Other classes.	
		Proprietors.				Rent-free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.		Temporary tenure-holders.		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.					
		As private lands.		Not as private lands.																	
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.																
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
11	Kurigram	..	..	263	3,181.97	286	180.30	..	..	269	121.37	2,608	7,970.15	53	150.86	1	NH	11	10.29
12	Lalmarihat	..	..	857	4,199.12	1,699	578.48	84	12.93	15,43	592.13	6,760	2,630.65	102	72.32	..	..	137	93.30
13	Nageswari	..	..	548	5,500.91	210	145.77	1	NH	516	1,438.28	2,147	9,034.96	290	1,742.11	8	5.07	26	64.45
14	Rahumari	..	..	81	3,911.98	..	..	..	..	2	..	566	5,593.81	113	1,528.71	..	..	3	2.42
15	Ulipur	..	..	539	15,512.04	1,811	689.29	20	NH	716	661.11	5,781	5,535.45	372	813.71	10	NH	130	99.07
16	Dimala	..	..	211	7,060.86	165	131.02	2	3.20	108	311.83	825	3,336.12	9	85.31	3	NH	13	3.11
17	Domar	..	..	248	1,038.64	272	294.78	..	..	230	528.36	473	1,407.54	5	..	..	..	30	37.81
18	Jaldhaka	..	..	290	3,133.75	481	331.31	7	1.97	189	290.24	925	2,405.98	17	102.85	..	..	52	132.29
19	Kishoreganj	..	..	192	2,319.71	678	299.91	3	2.63	139	129.12	370	297.67	1	NH	..	..	34	30.05
20	Nilphamari	..	..	620	1,760.31	995	732.16	6	2.63	474	861.45	326	609.16	7	549.96	..	..	31	102.14

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	In the direct occupation of—																		Other classes.	
		Proprietors.				Rent free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.		Temporary tenure-holders.		Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.					
		As private lands.		Not as private lands.																	
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.		
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
21	Salyadpur	..	..	299	539.96	837	345.72	19	10.63	560	274.37	164	122.33	12	Nil.	..	..	32	36.10
22	Badarganj	..	..	346	2,404.71	967	512.31	10	11.99	339	3,676.36	678	1,082.79	2	43.74	..	..	118	210.97
23	Gangachara	..	..	304	3,221.22	550	147.88	6	8.77	315	667.18	350	244.72	1	2.16	..	..	101	37.25
24	Hatibandha	..	..	251	4,206.32	230	215.30	3	7.88	142	157.33	488	1,293.06	6	87.61	..	..	16	30.33
25	Kaliganj	..	..	528	3,959.66	1,099	452.31	13	5.56	329	2,426.89	1,241	1,794.35	..	..	..	..	11	4.36
26	Kaunia	..	..	594	4,208.26	1,810	520.24	9	1.43	539	546.00	886	287.67	9	5.95	..	..	68	38.62
27	Mithapukur	..	..	1,008	4,810.04	558	387.33	33	48.20	895	4,161.13	654	995.18	11	7.75	..	..	90	182.73
28	Pirgachha	..	..	1,044	1,630.01	2,538	855.83	1	Nil.	1,344	1,135.36	736	262.60	4	.66	..	..	79	65.73
29	Pirganj	..	..	690	4,880.42	529	501.76	13	20.92	717	3,684.87	378	1,482.03	2	121.23	..	..	222	458.02
30	Rangpur	..	..	938	1,801.60	2,533	837.04	52	25.82	952	819.40	900	498.27	12	7.02	..	..	150	129.44

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Raiyats (rent free).		Raiyats (service).		Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).						Settled and occupancy raiyats (cash rent).				Non-occupancy raiyats (cash rent).			
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent, Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent, Per acre.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent, Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent, Per acre.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent, Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent, Per acre.		
1	2	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36		
	Rangpur District.																		
1	Phulchhari ..	6	14-11	1	97	10	82-08	278 4 2	3 5 10	7,244	26,611-60	1,01,047 0 8	3 12 9	2,111	4,846-12	18,045 11 10	3 11 7		
2	Gaibandhá ..	39	41-94	53	29-59	944	3,312-80	7,330 0 7	2 3 5	17,017	60,923-22	2,10,787 15 4	3 7 4	271	891-79	4,050 4 3	4 8 8		
3	Gobindganj ..	429	485-75	52	118-06	758	3,831-07	5,689 13 6	1 7 9	32,592	95,817-37	2,05,088 8 5	2 2 3	75	869-93	1,392 10 3	1 9 7		
4	Pakistárá ..	135	149-23	23	30-97	450	2,225-50	4,103 12 2	1 13 6	14,989	42,043-37	1,00,743 13 3	2 6 4	124	185-22	745 7 6	4 0 5		
5	Sadullápur ..	66	53-66	31	24-29	245	982-35	1,942 8 4	1 15 8	19,071	52,367-93	1,56,979 7 8	3 0 0	21	38-76	227 15 6	5 14 1		
6	Saghárá ..	20	33-58	6	2-05	412	2,781-07	4,615 0 9	1 10 7	11,139	39,085-20	1,06,032 3 3	2 11 2	650	1,618-70	6,838 11 9	4 10 1		
7	Súnderganj ..	50	67-09	33	14-92	331	1,707-44	3,562 1 7	2 1 4	28,810	84,805-51	3,42,002 12 4	3 8 11	539	1,142-97	3,768 15 11	3 15 3		
8	Bhurungamari ..	9	31-03	11	11-31	43	317-83	535 13 6	1 11 0	11,976	46,653-35	1,57,124 15 7	3 5 2	74	222-70	613 11 11	2 10 4		
9	Chilmari ..	5	3-98	8	18-92	20	158-21	193 14 0	1 3 7	8,227	30,365-59	90,645 13 10	2 15 10	2,145	6,283-37	22,965 0 4	3 10 6		
10	Fulbari ..	18	9-16	18	4-35	342	922-33	1,565 5 0	2 0 4	12,201	24,780-64	61,463 8 10	2 7 8	10	20-59	35 13 6	1 11 10		

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Raiyats (rent free).		Raiyats (service).		Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).				Settled and occupancy raiyats (cash rent).				Non-occupancy raiyats (cash rent).			
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent. Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent. per acre. Rs. a. p.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent. Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent. per acre. Rs. a. p.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent. Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent. per acre. Rs. a. p.
1	2	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
11	Kurigram	38	65.62	13	7.93	95	284.50	712 2 7	2 5 1	18,959	50,079.49	1,42,261 8 4	2 13 5	77	184.83	494 0 0	2 10 9
12	Lalmanirhat	156	199.81	35	51.06	1,203	2,449.77	5,287 0 3	2 2 6	47,106	68,614.95	2,41,823 15 9	3 8 5	85	319.52	239 7 3	0 12 0
13	Nageswari	33	26.24	18	12.29	51	377.05	734 5 8	1 15 2	21,005	85,531.22	2,36,830 11 9	2 11 11	610	1,094.64	3,681 10 7	3 5 9
14	Rahumari	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	14,065	43,311.45	1,24,079 0 8	2 13 10	1,975	4,766.71	13,482 0 0	2 13 3
15	U'bpur	70	134.13	24	24.79	274	987.66	1,544 1 4	1 9 0	41,876	85,607.73	2,55,900 7 3	2 15 10	3,370	7,887.86	18,729 12 3	2 5 1
16	Dimala	60	205.99	39	95.91	118	595.77	1,378 6 2	2 5 0	25,762	65,403.77	2,25,752 6 0	3 3 9	30	159.56	366 11 1	2 4 9
17	Domar	34	69.54	12	21.62	1,192	3,974.85	9,833 1 9	2 8 0	22,542	53,179.02	1,76,578 1 3	3 5 2	17	72.30	288 11 0	3 15 11
18	Jaldhaka	33	57.85	56	106.45	61	298.66	654 4 5	2 3 1	33,235	71,741.51	2,09,766 15 0	3 10 2	26	41.23	141 13 5	3 7 1
19	Kishoreganj	110	157.95	98	217.85	393	1,169.49	2,726 4 0	2 3 11	33,322	59,016.80	2,13,969 12 3	3 20 2	6	3.93	36 4 6	9 3 9
20	Nilphamari	236	448.78	89	139.25	306	1,230.58	2,833 7 8	2 4 6	42,487	78,381.82	2,65,056 6 4	3 6 0	40	38.67	239 5 0	6 4 1

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Raiyats (rent free).		Raiyats (service).		Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent (cash).						Settled and occupancy raiyats (cash rent).				Non-occupancy raiyats (cash rent).					
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	Incidence of rent. Per acre.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.
		21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	2																				
21	Salyadpur ..	136	189.72	32	47.07	134	604.86	1,436 9 10	2 6 0	17,863	26,619.40	93,529 6 1	3 8 3	29	19.21	120 12 6	6 4 6				
22	Badarganj ..	157	232.08	204	435.19	1,552	4,413.78	22,027 5 7	4 15 10	42,443	90,157.62	2,75,465 13 4	3 0 11	73	208.07	610 12 7	2 15 0				
23	Gangachara ..	71	89.05	8	11.39	247	578.61	1,209 9 9	2 1 1	25,938	41,815.71	1,35,349 3 11	3 3 9	28	49.67	183 3 3	3 11 0				
24	Hatibandha ..	35	85.30	20	57.49	117	743.57	1,550 3 5	2 1 4	17,668	60,009.83	1,86,691 7 11	3 1 9	129	445.48	1,111 3 11	2 7 11				
25	Kaliganj ..	160	242.37	75	160.17	391	2,813.68	6064 8 9	2 2 6	37,009	89,009.26	3,46,267 4 5	3 14 3	351	575.81	2,047 6 0	3 8 11				
26	Kaunia ..	129	244.92	13	6.86	920	1,838.08	4,629 3 2	2 8 4	16,987	25,236.83	95,819 0 2	3 12 9	860	1,346.58	4,556 9 10	3 2				
27	Michapukur ..	184	335.99	80	167.41	2,010	5,679.20	14,523 1 7	2 8 11	44,443	107,231.24	3,08,996 10 7	2 4 1	117	278.29	895 2 11	3 3 6				
28	Pirgachha ..	305	429.37	39	27.07	1,014	2,460.09	4,076 0 0	1 10 6	25,942	54,094.94	1,06,513 14 9	3 1 3	115	211.62	932 9 9	4 6 6				
29	Pirganj ..	270	508.73	73	113.56	703	2,468.72	7,281 1 3	2 15 2	32,922	84,636.53	2,53,635 0 5	2 15 11	103	179.81	897 2 2	2 3 4				
30	Rangpur ..	245	351.76	53	86.77	4,566	7,913.24	18,070 15 10	2 4 6	42,641	62,036.48	1,86,316 12 8	3 0 6	144	361.87	1,183 14 6	3 1 8				

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Settled and occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (2. If non-agricultural holdings).				Under-ryyats.		
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.
1	2	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	
	Rangpur District.															Ra. a. p.					Ra. a. p.	
1	Phulchhari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,513 6 0	34.92	1,513 6 0	3,713	3,294.86	23,524 6 6
2	Gaibandhá	..	..	2	5.75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,350 15 8	214.53	5,350 15 8	1,746	3,042.79	20,227 6 2
3	Gobindaganj	24	35.55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,648 14 0	95.31	1,648 14 0	3	5.14	Rarat.
4	Palasbári	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	343 2 3	54.08	343 2 3	..	..	..
5	Sadullápur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	839 5 6	35.87	839 5 6	..	..	..
6	Saghatá	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	869 14 3	33.72	869 14 3	1,244	1,310.02	9,183 4 0
7	Sundarganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,925 8 11	64.74	1,925 8 11	2	1.84	10 4 9
8	Bhurungamari	5	13.53	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	881 6 0	52.47	881 6 0	131	277.67	1,452 4 6
9	Chilmari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,450 4 6	41.37	1,450 4 6	229	417.11	2,903 4 7
10	Fulbari	38	73.77	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	583 13 0	15.46	583 13 0	2,413	1,742.82	7,439 13 10

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Settled and occupancy riyats on third produce rent.		Settled and occupancy riyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy riyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy riyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy riyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy riyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (e.g. if non-agricultural holdings).			Under-riyats.		
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.
1	2	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
11	Kurigram	4	4-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3-07	288	87-42	2,282 12 3	3,848	2,372-31	16,782 12 11
12	Lalmanirhat	31	33-38	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2-80	..	..	9	179-56	240	97-24	2,694 8 11	2,717	1,591-55	10,890 11 3
13	Nageswari	12	26-36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	183	46-95	750 15 1	50	64-96	257 5 9
14	Rahumari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	117	31-85	336 15 3	..	..	..
15	Uthpur	2	1-12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	129-15	328	79-50	2,466 14 1	1,012	689-68	4,145 0 10
16	Dimla	2	2-45	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	417-10	157	31-83	209 10 10	21	6-75	49 8 6
17	Domar	4	4-80	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	156	46-61	1,066 9 8	190	264-96	2,412 10 2
18	Jaldhaka	1	47	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	88	28-11	161 1 10	895	696-86	3,661 12 3
19	Kishoreganj	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	57	197	42-17	194 12 6	..	..	..
20	Kilphamari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	416	126-27	2,274 13 1	1,072	679-59	6,336-15 4

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Settled and occupancy ralyats on fixed produce rent.		Settled and occupancy ralyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy ralyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy ralyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy ralyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy ralyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (e.g. if non-agricultural holdings).				Under-ralyats.		
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	
1	2	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	
21	Salyadpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	756	150-10	4,463 4 5	807	431-80	3,678 7 11
22	Badarganj	112	108-04	..	..	1	1-78	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	1 02	233	72-14	1,502 8 1	1	1-15	6 8 0
23	Gangachara	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	442-35	36	10-68	45 12 11	9	8-48	58 1 0
24	Hatibandha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	19-66	169 11 9	9,007	11,806-84	89,824 13 9
25	Kaliganj	5	14-69	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	6-52	229	80-05	1,050 0 11	3,656	3,324-93	29,553 1 3
26	Kaunia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	79	19-14	128 4 6	..	..	..
27	Mithapukur	9	8-58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	42 32	341	84 93	1,024 6 11	..	..	..
28	Pirgachha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	178	83-00	827 11 8	..	..	..
29	Pirganj	7	12-16	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2-36	..	..	3	3-38	562	201-00	459 9 9	..	..	..
30	Rangpur	165	173-70	1	2-05	..	..	..	..	2	1-24	..	..	9	189-46	1,520	809-62	14,505 10 10	404	222-00	1,179 3 0

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Under-ryots.														Area-occupied for public purposes (acres).	Total area of the thanas (acres).
		Without right of occupancy (on cash rent).			With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (share of produce rent).		Other classes.			Area-uncultivated including the reserved (acres).			
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.				
1	2	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	65a	65b	65c	66	67	68	
				Rs. a. p.									Rs. a. p.				
1	Phulchhari ..	2,291	1,327.06	10,594 11 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,013	5,257.67	45,508 11 0	11,659.70	808.21	77,600.51
2	Gaibandhá ..	6,609	3,765.21	39,029 11 10	..	..	..	..	1	71	20,096	21,460.27	1,73,626 0 11	3,727.91	1,870.90	79,315.59
3	Gobindaganj ..	4,441	2,874.67	16,246 12 0	72	168.02	28	30.27	..	..	22,676	19,400.03	1,10,435 8 3	1,159.90	2,028.40	113,772.84
4	Palkshari ..	2,971	1,776.80	12,127 10 11	..	..	..	..	..	..	12,161	11,032.85	72,630 2 9	79.13	937.34	47,216.76
5	Sadullápur ..	2,653	1,936.16	14,122 1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	17,630	16,264.86	1,13,159 15 10	..	1,404.02	57,543.27
6	Saghatá ..	1,846	1,183.60	9,567 1 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	11,363	12,182.55	88,940 4 3	3,541.39	1,146.79	56,527.77
7	Sundarganj ..	7,179	4,739.32	36,181 9 11	1	2.60	..	..	..	..	35,951	31,836.58	2,48,657 1 2	3,791.59	1,879.16	103,327.66
8	Bhurungamari ..	4,686	5,346.98	30,033 11 3	..	..	7	8.53	..	..	5,329	7,830.63	45,526 4 9	1,572.79	1,347.54	58,381.82
	Chilmari ..	5,090	3,366.42	21,283 3 4	..	..	1	2.34	..	..	14,973	12,447.97	54,456 8 10	14,295.63	394.35	70,603.52
10	Fulbari ..	1,875	1,329.81	6,146 13 9	18	12.95	3	1.42	..	..	9,905	6,289.43	31,261 9 6	1,263.64	566.73	32,125.99

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Under-ryatate.															Area occupied for public purposes. (Acres.)	Total area of the thana. (Acres.)																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
		Without right of occupancy (on cash rent).			With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).			Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).			Without rights of occupancy (share of produce rent).			Other classes.					Area unoccupied including the area outside the record. (Acres.)																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of thanas.	Under-ryats.														Area occupied for public purposes. (Acres.)	Total area of the thana. (Acres.)
		Without right of occupancy (on cash rent).				With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).				Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).				Other classes.			
		Without right of occupancy (on cash rent).		With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		With rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).		Other classes.					
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Rs. a. p.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Rent.		
1	2	57	58	59		60	61	62	63	64	65	65a	65b	Rs. a. p.	66	67	68
21	Saiyadpur	1,961	394.56	9,231 5 0	1	.71	..	..	..	2	1.69	6,774	3,867.17	40,275 7 2	..	1,107.40	30,064.65
22	Badarganj	3,378	2,159.22	18,557 9 4	69	75.28	20	27.81	..	6	3.60	20,878	14,273.94	1,07,001 13 2	387.54	2,280.97	1,06,234.64
23	Gangachara	8,377	1,693.10	14,942 0 4	1	.11	..	..	..	..	..	13,211	7,572.97	68,224 11 5	2,065.54	1,036.34	52,412.42
24	Hatibandha	8,952	3,686.57	27,521 8 3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,775	4,250.72	35,067 2 5	2,301.33	1,451.72	71,108.26
25	Kaliganj	8,578	5,914.21	58,546 13 8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17,618	18,832.59	1,32,488 10 2	2,660.88	2,576.84	106,772.33
26	Kaunia	5,092	2,879.35	26,188 9 10	..	..	1	.03	..	..	..	11,874	7,062.99	63,802 5 11	1,233.99	1,016.19	36,551.12
27	Mithapukur	6,540	4,936.50	30,362 15 7	2	1.50	13	12.78	..	3	3.23	12,520	9,518.07	78,985 13 11	447.01	2,545.96	127,412.12
28	Pirgachha	5,616	4,244.53	30,284 0 0	..	..	2	.08	..	..	..	22,822	17,376.45	1,22,289 4 3	650.22	1,848.10	63,754.86
29	Pirganj	1,767	1,200.41	7,022 4 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,252	5,670.12	37,854 13 2	236.18	2,115.08	101,646.36
30	Rangpur	6,024	2,806.81	41,945 3 9	63	49.95	51	41.43	..	..	..	21,265	13,174.22	96,295 2 8	..	2,724.21	78,813.80

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of subdivisions.	In the direct occupation of --												Other classes.					
		Proprietors.			Rent free tenure-holders.		Service tenure-holders.		Permanent tenure-holders at fixed rents or rates.		Permanent tenure-holders not at fixed rents or rates.		Temporary tenure-holders.			Tenure-holders on rent in kind or combined cash and kind.			
		As private lands.			Not as private lands.		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.													Area in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	Galbandha	..	..	2,698	50,378.36	3,140	1,597.52	29	4.08	3,387	4,450.10	6,098	7,700.74	854	2,419.80	2	..	726	906.21
	Kurigram	..	..	2,719	54,001.51	4,498	1,917.36	110	12.93	3,306	3,249.18	20,274	34,437.48	3,046	9,915.32	19	5.07	333	299.32
	Nilphamari	..	..	1,860	15,793.23	3,424	2,154.90	37	21.06	1,700	2,365.37	3,083	8,178.80	51	739.05	3	..	192	341.00
	Rangpur (Sadar)	..	..	5,743	33,122.21	10,814	4,430.04	140	125.57	5,572	17,274.52	6,311	7,940.67	59	270.12	..	..	855	1,157.46
	Grand Total of the District	..	..	13,020	159,296.34	21,880	10,100.72	316	163.64	13,065	27,339.17	35,706	58,257.69	4,016	13,350.29	24	5.07	2,106	2,703.99

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of subdivisions.	Raiyats (rent free).		Raiyats (service).		Raiyats at fixed rent or rate of rent.				Settled and occupancy raiyats (cash rent).				Non-occupancy raiyats (cash rent).			
		No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Incidence of rent per acre.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Incidence of rent per acre.	No. of hold-ings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Incidence of rent per acre.
1	2	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
	Gaibandha ..	745	845.39	199	220.85	3,200	14,922.91	Rs. a. p. 27,521 9 1	Rs. a. p. 1 13 6	130,862	401,654.20	Rs. a. p. 1,242,681 12 11	Rs. a. p. 3 1 6	3,791	9,593.49	Rs. a. p. 35,069 13 0	3 10 6
	Kurigram ..	329	469.97	133	131.29	2,028	5,497.35	10,872 10 4	1 15 8	175,415	434,864.42	1,310,070 2 0	3 0 2	3,346	20,780.22	60,241 7 10	2 14 5
	Nilphamari ..	609	1,129.83	326	627.55	2,267	7,874.21	18,962 1 10	2 6 6	175,211	354,342.32	12,35,459 14 11	3 7 9	143	332.90	1,183 9 6	3 8 11
	Rangpur (Sadar) ..	1,556	2,519.57	565	1,065.94	11,620	28,913.97	79,432 1 4	2 12 0	284,693	614,298.44	19,57,075 4 2	3 3 0	1,920	3,657.20	11,918 0 11	3 4 2
	Grand Total of the District ..	3,239	4,964.76	1,223	2,045.63	19,015	57,993.44	139,723 6 7	2 6 3	766,191	1,905,159.38	57,46,297 2 0	3 2 11	14,206	34,363.81	1,06,412 16 3	3 2 6

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of subdivisions.	Settled and occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on fixed produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on share of produce rent.		Settled and occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Non-occupancy raiyats on combined cash and produce rent.		Other classes.		Occupants (i.e., of non-agricultural holdings).			Under-riyats.		
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	No. of holdings.	Rent.
2		37	35	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
	Galbandha	24	35.55	2	5.78	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,401	533.17	Rs. a. p. 12,491 3 4	6,708	7,654.65	Rs. a. p. 32,945 5 5
	Kurigram ..	92	152.30	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2.80	..	..	16	312.89	1,013	452.20	11,447 0 1	10,300	7,156.10	43,761 5 8
	Nilphamari	7	7.72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	417.07	1,770	423.09	8,370 4 4	2,985	2,079.96	19,139 6 2
	Rangpur (Sadar)	329	317.26	1	2.05	1	1.78	..	..	7	6.29	..	..	51	684.80	3,208	1,380.22	19,758 13 4	13,077	15,364.30	1,20,621 11 0
	Grand Total of the District.	452	512.83	3	7.83	1	1.78	..	..	9	9.09	..	..	71	1,415.45	9,052	2,780.74	52,067 14 1	33,270	32,255.01	2,36,467 12 3

APPENDIX III.

Serial No.	Names of subdivisions.	Under-ryots.															Area unoccupied including area outside the record. (Acres.)	Area occupied for public purposes. (Acres.)	Total area of the subdivision. (Acres.)		
		Without rights of occupancy (on cash rent).			Without rights of occupancy (fixed produce rent).			Without rights of occupancy (share of produce rent).			Other charges.										
		No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.	No. of holdings.	Area in acres.	Rent.					
1		57	58	59		60	61		62	63		64	65		65a	65b	65c	66	67	68	
				Rs. a. p.														Rs. a. p.			
	Gaibandha	28,080	17,602.82	1,37,969 8 10		73	170.62		28	39.27		1	.71		125090	117,434.63	8,52,257 12- 2	23959.02	10,094.91	535,307.60	
	Kurigram	46,998	34,281.29	2,12,001 1 7		45	42.69		26	31.85		14	13.67		142408	117,066.56	7,39,981 11 9	46781.50	9,490.59	622,671.52	
	Nalpathari	18,237	10,125.70	1,09,254 4 2		9	9.21		6	11.34		11	8.92		64,531	48,637.69	4,80,563 12 0	2,376.19	5,564.18	406,024.91	
	Rangpur (Sadar)	44,324	29,620.70	2,55,671 0 11		135	126.84		87	82.73		9	6.83		133815	92,732.07	7,42,009 13 1	9,962.62	17,595.41	744,705.9(1)	
	Grand Total of the District	137639	61,539.81	7,14,795 15 6		262	346.36		167	165.19		35	30.13		466144	376,871.15	23,15,113 1 0	33599.40	45,745.09	2,366,706.94	

Column 54.—33,270 represents the number of holdings of under-raiyats with right of occupancy with rent and *খাজনার বেগ* taken together.

Column 55.—32,255·01 represents the Nijdakhal area.

Column 57.—137,639—number of holdings with rent and *খাজনার বেগ* ।

Column 58.—91,530·51 represents the Nijdakhal area.

Column 66.—The figure 83,599·40 represents *only* the outside the record area.

Column 67.—The figure 45,745·09 represents areas of Union Board, Local Board and District Board, Public Works Department, Municipality, Police and Canal.

APPENDIX

. MJan

Thana.	Area sown.							
	Bhadol.		Aghani.		Rabi.		Others, e.g., mango, tea, pan plantain, guavas, etc.	
	2		3		4		5	
1	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
Rangpur District.								
<i>Galbandha Subdivision.</i>								
Sundarganj	62,174	58	59,322	36	9,356	22	1,287	53
Sadullapur	30,242	20	28,864	09	8,689	49	1,601	21
Phulchhari	23,439	05	16,266	29	6,108	65	255	00
Galbandha	46 276	92	45,088	09	8,565	10	1,338	65
Palasbari	24,863	10	24,775	17	8,919	41	937	94
Gobindaganj	45,106	16	63,313	72	17,064	30	1,558	17
Saghata	32,994	42	24,989	82	9,032	86	439	71
Total of Galbandha Subdivision.	265,096	43	262,619	54	67,736	03	7,418	21
<i>Sadar Subdivision.</i>								
Hatibandha	16,556	58	30,958	11	9,504	13	446	26
Kaliganj	28,556	67	48,328	56	16,465	68	1,054	59
Gangachara	16,506	73	25,354	68	5,867	35	313	56
Badarganj	26,980	53	56,330	73	11,411	8	1,452	40
Rangpur	33,056	68	40,094	95	7,336	47	1,095	03
Kaunia	15,492	37	14,265	96	3,381	53	379	94
Pirgachha	28,977	24	32,523	56	5,582	89	814	30
Mithapukur	44,119	83	64,031	53	17,557	57	2,309	04
Pirganj	27,703	50	48,476	10	15,594	32	1,404	90
Total of Sadar Subdivision	237,950	13	360,864	18	92,701	74	9,270	11
<i>Kurigram Subdivision.</i>								
Nageswari	48,146	38	45,604	43	15,798	49	1,007	07
Kurigram	28,862	06	24,869	92	7,160	59	1,185	18
Ulipur	54,306	59	59,918	84	8,995	90	2,117	26
Chilmari	25,219	91	15,211	87	5,175	00	316	67
Rahumari	23,429	28	14,013	45	14,689	37	301	20
Bhurungamari	24,149	04	23,943	69	11,777	35	898	26
Fulbari	10,544	34	12,793	39	4,377	34	657	36
Lalmanirhat	34,641	66	38,247	07	11,158	63	2,090	05
Total of Kurigram Subdivision	249,299	26	234,602	66	79,132	67	8,573	05

IV.

Khasra.

Area sown.						Current fallow.		Culturable area other than current fallow.	
Total.		Dofasli.		Nett.				Old fallow.	
6		7		8		9		10	
A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
132,140	00	52,987 1,394	07 33	77,759	20	1,880	45	1,418	01
69,396	99	21,802 859	49 94	46,734	56	1,444	70	1,382	03
46,068	99	17,359 775	52 47	27,934	00	1,465	80	2,582	20
101,268	76	40,111 846	32 67	60,310	77	1,139	31	1,113	97
59,495	02	19,680 1,907	35 60	38,798	07	900	32	1,056	63
127,042	35	35,382 809	58 46	90,850	31	2,262	73	3,515	61
67,456	81	27,152 564	04 03	39,740	74	568	14	1,014	97
602,870	21	214,484 6,257	37 50	382,128	34	9,439	45	12,084	02
57,465	08	9,446	32	48,018	76	3,360	80	5,523	37
94,405	50	19,169	76	75,235	74	4,597	36	6,591	79
48,042	32	11,273 62	88 89	36,705	55	1,012	54	1,347	00
96,175	46	15,110 115	95 09	80,949	42	3,306	84	7,261	57
81,583	13	22,706 263	41 40	58,613	32	2,900	49	3,776	29
33,510	80	10,470 190	39 55	22,858	86	1,288	38	1,716	37
67,897	99	20,453 371	73 89	47,072	37	2,074	76	3,127	76
128,017	97	32,112 735	21 46	95,170	30	4,185	88	7,379	13
93,178	91	19,169 316	03 74	73,693	14	4,342	08	6,965	79
700,286	16	159,912 2,056	08 02	538,317	46	27,069	13	43,689	07
110,556	37	37,728 371	13 16	72,457	08	3,661	76	2,520	79
62,077	75	21,427 79	26 05	40,571	44	1,748	87	1,819	79
125,388	59	48,092 513	81 79	81,781	99	2,486	20	3,255	90
45,923	45	14,683 407	22 43	30,882	80	1,583	57	1,849	56
52,483	80	12,184 805	46 99	39,492	85	3,452	80	2,700	53
60,768	84	20,993	19	39,775	15	2,132	22	3,215	00
28,372	43	8,333	52	20,038	91	1,208	41	2,004	23
86,187	41	24,720	57	61,416	84	2,804	17	3,109	48
571,607	64	183,063 2,177	10 42	388,367	06	18,977	50	20,475	28

Italicised figures in column 7 indicate Tefasli.
Italicised figures in column 11 indicate straw.

Thanas.	Culturable area other than current fallow.							
	Groves not fruit bearing and bamboos.		Culturable jungle.		Other kinds.		Total.	
	11		12		13		14	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
Rangpur District.								
<i>Gaibandha Subdivision.</i>								
Sundarganj	2,252 <i>1,586</i>	98 <i>11</i>	411	44	230	00	5,898	63
Sadullapur	1,871 <i>951</i>	51 <i>95</i>	206	86	196	82	4,609	80
Phulchhari	304 <i>300</i>	97 <i>99</i>	3,694	91	111	29	7,494	36
Galbandha	1,752 <i>890</i>	75 <i>99</i>	142	<i>88</i>	152	00	4,052	68
Palasbari	1,531 <i>882</i>	38 <i>93</i>	95	80	106	56	3,673	39
Gobindaganj	2,521 <i>1,499</i>	79 <i>60</i>	1,859	13	1,059	93	10,456	06
Saghata	1,075 <i>627</i>	26 <i>45</i>	562	12	52	57	3,332	40
Total of Galbandha Subdivision.	11,310 <i>7,210</i>	64 <i>05</i>	6,973	25	1,969	25	39,517	32
<i>Sadar Subdivision.</i>								
Hatibandha	2,434	67	230	45	1,551	60	9,740	18
Kalliganj	3,889	85	303	78	2,443	80	13,229	22
Gangachara	1,787 <i>1,024</i>	16 <i>28</i>	40	74	199	69	4,407	87
Badarganj	3,224 <i>1,606</i>	59 <i>44</i>	897	02	395	06	13,382	68
Rangpur	3,227 <i>2,131</i>	67 <i>94</i>	219	65	254	30	9,609	86
Kaunla	1,142 <i>1,214</i>	37 <i>27</i>	112	82	126	15	4,311	98
Pirgachha	1,778 <i>1,233</i>	48 <i>63</i>	455	80	359	15	6,954	91
Mithapukur	3,601 <i>2,140</i>	48 <i>83</i>	3,441	24	405	41	16,968	09
Pirganj	2,865 <i>1,541</i>	35 <i>38</i>	2,557	78	358	56	14,288	86
Total of Sadar Subdivision	23,951 <i>10,892</i>	62 <i>77</i>	8,268	37	6,091	81	92,803	65
<i>Kurigram Subdivision.</i>								
Nageswari	3,767 <i>1,072</i>	38 <i>63</i>	500	26	1,566	80	9,427	26
Kurigram	1,450 <i>397</i>	58 <i>53</i>	140	87	1,160	20	4,968	97
Ulipur	2,499 <i>255</i>	28 <i>33</i>	1,225	60	2,132	65	9,368	85
Chilmari	663 <i>20</i>	44 <i>21</i>	391	40	703	65	3,028	26
Rahumari	90	54 <i>07</i>	1,341	75	1,128	38	5,261	27
Bhurungamari	3,034	24	906	19	1,475	41	8,631	64
Fulbari	969	57	325	80	1,189	58	4,489	18
Lalmanirhat	2,481	14	320	64	2,145	25	8,056	51
Total of Kurigram Subdivision	14,956 <i>1,745</i>	17 <i>17</i>	5,153	40	11,501	92	53,831	94

Italicised figures in column 11 indicate straw.

IV--contd.

Area not available for cultivation.								Total uncultivated columns 9, 14 and 18.		Total area, columns 8 and 19.	
House-sites.		Water.		Other kinds.		Total.					
15		16		17		18		19		20	
A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
3,474	06	6,393	47	8,002	96	17,780	49	25,568	57	103,327	86
1,820	27	1,707	38	1,226	56	1,754	21	10,808	71	57,543	27
1,102	67	19,278	10	20,265	58	40,706	35	40,666	51	77,900	51
2,771	47	5,050	75	5,984	61	13,815	83	19,007	82	99,318	59
1,652	00	1,202	59	1,220	79	1,075	38	8,418	09	47,216	76
3,147	18	4,676	22	2,380	34	10,203	74	22,922	53	113,772	84
1,601	57	6,021	60	5,263	32	12,886	49	16,787	03	56,527	77
15,829	22	41,249	11	44,344	16	104,222	49	153,179	26	535,397	60
1,119	01	3,785	02	5,954	49	9,988	52	23,689	50	71,198	26
2,501	91	5,568	17	5,636	93	13,710	01	31,536	59	106,772	33
1,029	82	3,212	95	6,952	69	10,286	46	15,706	87	52,412	42
2,444	73	3,184	76	2,966	21	8,595	70	25,285	22	106,234	64
2,753	07	2,998	77	2,268	28	7,690	13	20,290	48	78,813	80
986	75	2,469	60	4,635	55	8,091	90	13,692	26	36,551	12
1,843	01	3,381	34	2,428	47	7,652	82	16,682	49	63,754	86
3,125	18	4,523	25	3,439	42	11,087	85	32,241	82	127,412	12
2,419	23	1,010	13	2,892	92	9,322	28	27,053	22	101,646	36
18,246	71	32,803	99	33,374	96	86,425	67	206,388	45	744,795	91
2,890	89	12,839	39	8,655	23	24,154	42	37,513	44	110,000	52
2,053	42	8,290	29	10,290	27	20,622	98	27,340	82	67,912	26
3,821	58	16,984	06	21,873	01	42,678	65	54,483	70	136,215	69
1,475	02	14,581	81	18,592	06	34,558	89	39,720	72	70,003	52
1,649	84	5,890	84	8,169	49	15,210	17	23,923	74	63,416	59
1,611	68	4,061	11	2,170	02	7,842	81	18,006	67	58,381	82
1,088	20	2,324	79	2,976	30	6,389	49	12,087	08	32,125	99
2,565	95	4,093	17	5,078	49	11,737	61	22,598	29	84,015	13
17,145	49	88,634	46	77,715	07	163,495	02	236,304	46	622,671	52

APPENDIX

Thana.	Area sown.							
	Bhadol.		Aghani.		Rabi.		Others, e.g., mango, tea, pan, plantain, guavas, etc.	
	2		3		4		5	
1	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
<i>Nilphamari Subdivision.</i>								
Domar	14,731	39	37,118	40	3,816	01	396	41
Dimla	21,021	08	42,680	23	6,402	12	578	22
Jaldhaka	29,956	73	43,899	79	8,769	80	664	49
Kishoreganj	28,414	08	34,261	04	10,279	72	718	13
Nilphamari	33,346	65	49,746	42	8,767	52	752	02
Sayedpur	9,243	30	18,002	24	3,220	70	400	02
Total of Nilphamari Subdivision.	136,715	03	225,709	02	41,255	87	3,511	00
Total of the district ..	229,060	25	1,083,295	40	280,826	31	28,772	46

IV--contd.

Area sown.						Current fallow.		Culturable area other than current fallow.	
Total.		Dofasli.		Nett.				Old fallow.	
6		7		8		9		10	
A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
56,062	21	10,152 124	65 04	45,785	52	2,199	31	5,790	50
70,682	55	16,385 228	21 30	54,069	04	2,819	98	6,999	38
83,290	81	24,376 388	38 18	58,526	25	2,528	06	7,042	65
73,674	77	24,043 242	80 61	49,388	27	1,931	59	4,479	23
92,613	51	26,066 432	45 44	66,114	62	2,276	56	5,456	23
30,867	16	7,083 45	86 30	23,738	00	541	15	969	52
407,191	01	108,108 1,460	44 87	297,621	70	12,291	65	30,737	51
2,281,955	02	665,568 11,951	65 81	1,604,434	56	67,777	73	106,985	88

Italicised figures in column 7 indicate Tefasali.

APPENDIX

Thanas.	Culturable area other than current fallow.							
	Groves not fruit bearing and bamboos.		Culturable jungles.		Other kinds.		Total.	
	11		12		13		14	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
<i>Nilphamari Subdivision.</i>								
Domar	2,549	98	80	27	1,680	25	10,101	00
Dimla	3,197	21	72	46	2,401	80	12,670	85
Jaldhaka	2,857	26	70	96	3,322	26	13,293	13
Kishoreganj	2,276 <i>1,831</i>	57 37	24	63	176	76	8,788	56
Nilphamari	3,532	79	75	76	2,872	47	11,937	25
Sayedpur	1,133	48	64	02	659	55	2,826	57
Total of Nilphamari Subdivision.	15,547 <i>1,831</i>	29 37	388	10	11,113	09	59,617	36
Total of the district ..	65,765 <i>27,709</i>	72 39	20,783	10	30,616	17	245,880	27

Italicised figures in column 11 indicate straw.

IV—concl'd.

Area not available for cultivation.								Total uncultivated columns 9, 14 and 18.		Total area, columns 8 and 19.	
House-sites.		Water.		Other kinds.		Total.					
15		16		17		18		19		20	
A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
1,816	23	1,132	08	1,450	78	3,899	09	16,199	40	61,984	92
1,383	26	4,448	50	5,910	87	11,692	63	27,183	46	81,252	50
1,604	67	1,828	96	2,762	21	6,195	84	22,012	03	80,538	28
1,281	90	1,750	06	2,339	12	5,371	08	16,091	23	65,479	50
1,808	03	2,502	72	2,065	88	6,376	63	20,590	44	86,705	06
1,068	50	1,011	45	878	98	2,958	93	6,326	65	30,064	65
8,412	59	12,673	77	15,407	84	36,494	20	108,403	21	406,024	91
59,434	91	258,361	33	172,842	63	390,637	38	764,275	38	2,306,769	94

APPENDIX V. Statistics of Crops.

Thana.	Cereals and pulses.											
	Rice.				Wheat.	Barley.	Cumbu or Bajra.	Ragi or Marua.	Maize.	Jowar.		
	Ama.	Aman.		Boro.								
		2	3		4	5	6	7	8	9	9(a)	
1	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
Rangpur District.												
1. Hatibandha	13,967	62	30,946	22	153	44	447	57	..	07	..	08
2. Kaliganj	25,464	47	48,267	11	566	46	149	12	..	..	..	20
3. Gangachara	14,263	40	25,319	71	129	40	7	11	..	..	..	..
4. Badarganj	20,828	28	54,839	91	170	46	15	51	..	08	02	06
5. Rangpur	25,671	96	39,890	53	151	42	52	26	..	21	16	..
6. Kaunia	10,384	56	14,248	91	137	68	13	55	..	02	..	..
7. Pirgachha	15,658	10	32,445	48	340	56	34	67	..	..	..	01
8. Mithapukur	27,266	59	61,385	14	215	57	82	45	..	..	..	05
9. Pirganj	15,656	94	46,801	91	128	31	10	09	..	20	..	26
10. Domar	6,494	32	37,115	04	51	29	172	45	..	..	..	06
11. Dimla	11,907	39	42,668	53	26	68	202	31	..	70	..	..
12. Jaldhaka	18,054	79	43,812	83	84	27	159	92	..	18	..	..
13. Kishoreganj	19,836	95	33,656	04	324	64	14	73	..	33	..	..
14. Nilphamari	16,942	10	49,549	86	59	10	284	03	..	49	..	..
15. Sayedpur	5,316	49	17,893	45	57	65	28	93	..	13	..	..
16. Sundarganj	35,962	81	59,209	81	1,801	93	285	92	..	..	56	12
17. Sadullapur	14,724	59	28,440	33	596	30	73	16	..	03	..	41
18. Phulchhari	18,847	29	16,147	45	480	93	566	99	..	..	05	06
19. Palasbari	12,258	00	23,194	90	311	53	113	09	..	..	..	..
20. Galbandha	24,943	12	44,982	16	1,109	65	332	40	..	..	03	..
21. Gobindaganj	24,648	57	60,547	02	151	32	131	90	..	01	30	..
22. Saghata	17,955	48	24,386	66	228	60	524	49	..	33	..	04
23. Nageewari	35,324	71	45,518	24	1,281	38	159	81	..	..	..	07
24. Kurigram	21,036	27	24,839	53	824	33	86	92	..	..	..	07
25. Ulipur	38,727	41	59,881	59	1,233	38	125	09	..	..	19	..
26. Gilmari	18,093	53	15,172	11	536	00	378	21	..	46	..	..
27. Rahumari	19,120	61	13,680	80	969	55	917	17	..	..	13	19

28. Barrungamari	..	20,701	11	23,883	90	37	74	380	02	20	43	..	..	..	..	14	..	16
29. Fulbari	..	7,849	00	12,750	61	..	33	210	24	6	03	..	..	..	..	04	..	..
30. Lahamdhata	..	20,584	91	37,316	35	..	42	791	36	13	61	..	..	02	..	00	..	04
<i>Subdivisional Totals.</i>																		
• Rangpur	..	108,971	92	354,094	92	375	99	2,023	30	812	33	1	53	3	18	235	13	27
• Gaidbandha	..	144,379	86	258,908	42	1,047	55	4,580	26	2,027	95	..	37	..	94	95	29	63
Kurigram	..	190,438	54	232,913	13	561	07	6,026	26	1,707	27	..	46	..	34	5	85	53
• Nilphamari	..	78,652	04	224,697	75	4	52	603	63	862	37	1	83	..	..	39	81	..
Grand total of the district	..	582,442	38	1,088,614	22	1,989	13	13,233	45	5,408	92	4	19	4	46	376	68	43

APPENDIX V—*contd.*

Thana.	Cereals and pulses.				Oil-seeds.								Sugar.					
	Gram (pulse).		Other food grains including pulses.		Linseed.		Sesamum (til or jinjili).		Rape and mustard.		Groundnut.		Others.		Condiments and spices.		Sugar-cane.	
	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
1																		17
Rangpur District.																		
1. Hatibandha	..	01	935	54	..	..	51	04	943	31	..	..	..	02	200	30	63	58
2. Kallanj	..	44	1,414	50	1	06	81	57	1,993	75	..	33	..	09	615	98	13	79
3. Gangachara	151	34	..	..	10	27	316	11	..	..	..	..	93	44	23	43
4. Badarganj	..	33	628	47	..	78	136	33	4,877	23	..	07	..	..	920	43	1,338	89
5. Rangpur	..	80	842	80	..	53	3	74	1,734	90	..	..	..	..	400	33	139	60
6. Kaunia	..	69	158	70	..	59	7	87	274	94	..	..	..	..	146	49	1	61
7. Pirgachha	..	01	1,061	70	2	60	8	82	1,983	64	..	..	..	08	333	08	56	24
8. Mithapukur	..	97	2,965	50	2	26	69	74	8,196	47	..	36	..	02	1,175	81	2,574	54
9. Pirganj	..	49	3,025	09	..	..	81	23	5,579	33	..	..	..	..	1,622	63	1,575	14
10. Domar	..	11	143	00	..	16	3	13	452	90	..	..	..	..	127	86	3	07
11. Dimla	352	40	..	..	19	39	613	62	..	..	..	..	181	85	6	48
12. Jaldhaka	..	12	339	48	..	..	21	01	931	15	..	..	..	..	740	39	27	81
13. Kishoreganj	..	01	479	11	..	09	47	24	2,059	45	..	..	..	..	1,235	97	488	30
14. Nilphamari	..	70	618	35	..	36	10	50	1,494	31	..	..	..	..	599	95	147	74
15. Sayedpur	..	39	136	62	..	..	5	34	1,363	90	..	..	..	..	113	93	89	65
16. Sundarganj	..	85	4,042	34	1	19	44	02	1,502	42	..	..	..	..	566	57	13	64
17. Sadulpur	..	96	2,249	65	..	05	19	38	2,284	12	..	..	..	..	950	52	388	84
18. Phulchhari	..	339	2,271	71	5	04	66	36	778	28	..	..	..	33	240	28	5	74
19. Palsabadi	..	29	2,087	11	6	85	22	41	1,825	76	3	25	..	..	1,050	20	1,493	89
20. Galbandha	..	98	1,904	85	..	98	56	31	1,422	73	4	83	..	68	653	65	17	78
21. Gobindaganj	..	26	2,704	76	2	05	187	00	5,039	83	..	..	..	01	2,372	95	2,406	18
22. Saghata	..	02	843	59	18	92	240	35	3,901	08	..	32	..	..	650	18	455	97
23. Nageswari	..	05	3,056	50	1	64	73	55	7,502	63	1	21	..	61	684	93	28	47
24. Kurigram	..	1	1,683	32	..	13	36	67	2,984	95	3	93	1	42	287	22	..	54
25. Ulipur	..	3	3,919	82	4	90	35	80	1,405	92	3	42	25	16	389	42	8	47
26. Chilmari	..	13	2,744	08	12	33	52	35	355	31	20	44	14	69	178	71	..	05
27. Bahumari	..	86	9,300	26	29	65	73	25	162	22	..	..	13	75	174	59	1	84
28. Bhurungamari	..	88	1,386	18	..	54	448	64	7,397	63	16	23	..	..	557	65	9	20

29. Fulbari	..	..	..	557	31	..	06	27	54	2,533	71	..	..	..	..	..	27	35	63
30. Lalmonirhat	..	3	37	1,297	91	1	81	77	12	2,731	13	..	..	..	..	..	31	886	44
<i>Subdivisional totals.</i>																			
Barapur	..	267	74	11,883	64	7	82	450	66	25,899	65	..	76	..	..	..	98	5,791	82
Gaibandha	..	3,349	24	14,104	01	35	08	635	71	16,754	32	..	40	8	..	..	35	4,872	04
Kurigram	..	204	48	23,925	33	51	06	824	92	25,073	50	45	23	57	64	..	10	970	64
Niphamari	..	5	33	2,063	96	..	61	106	61	6,915	33	..	..	..	..	..	98	763	05
Grand total of the district	..	3,826	79	51,481	94	94	57	2,018	00	74,942	83	84	39	65	87	..	42	12,397	55

APPENDIX V—contd.

Thana.	Drugs and narcotics.						Fodder crops (including lower and kalm).						Fruits and vegetables (including root crops).						Miscellaneous Crops.	
	Cinchona.		Indian hemp.		Betel.		Others.		A.		D.		Fruits.		Pseudo.		Others.		Food.	
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
1																				
Rangpur District.																				
1. Hatibandha																				
2. Kalganj																				
3. Gangachara																				
4. Badarganj																				
5. Rangpur																				
6. Kaunia																				
7. Pirgachha																				
8. Mithapukur																				
9. Piganj																				
10. Domar																				
11. Dimla																				
12. Jaldhaka																				
13. Khoreganj																				
14. Nilphamari																				
15. Sayedpur																				
16. Sundarganj																				
17. Sadullapur																				
18. Phulchhari																				
19. Palasbari																				
20. Gaidandha																				
21. Gobindaganj																				
22. Saghata																				
23. Nageswari																				
24. Kurigram																				
25. Ulipur																				
26. Chilmari																				
27. Bahumari																				
28. Bhurugamari																				

29. Fulbari	..	..	..	..	..	10	53	..	08	319	19	431	13	95	85	215	62	7	15
30. Lalmanirhat	..	..	..	..	..	8	63	1	72	308	20	1,602	33	544	53	482	36	44	28
Subdivisional totals.																			
Rangpur	..	..	..	..	..	332	94	43	10	8,100	43	5,305	61	9,683	77	3,609	20	551	79
Gaibandha	..	..	..	..	..	409	65	19	72	8,927	89	4,160	82	7,279	19	2,826	07	849	30
Kurigram	..	..	..	..	..	112	72	12	73	4,301	75	6,084	37	2,109	08	2,334	54	719	60
Nijphamari	..	..	..	..	..	41	42	..	35	840	67	1,245	30	3,325	03	2,223	77	240	57
Grand total of the district ...	..	..	..	..	..	898	13	75	90	26,170	75	16,796	10	22,397	07	10,993	58	2,361	26

APPENDIX V—concl.

Thana.	Miscellaneous crops.		Total.		Area sown more than one.		Net area shown.		Also yielding profit.			
	Non-food.		A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	Bamboo.		Thatching grass.	
	36								38		39		40		41
1	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.	A.	D.
Rangpur District.												
1. Hatibandha	57,465	08	9,446	32	48,018	76	2,434	67	..	..
2. Kaliganj	..	29	94,405	50	19,169	76	75,235	74	3,889	85	..	..
3. Gangachara	48,042	32	11,273	88	36,769	55	1,787	16	1,024	28
4. Badarganj	..	14	96,175	46	15,110	95	80,949	42	3,224	59	1,606	44
5. Rangpur	..	28	81,583	13	22,706	41	58,813	32	3,227	67	2,131	94
6. Kaunia	33,519	80	10,470	39	22,858	86	1,142	37	1,214	27
7. Pirgachha	67,897	99	20,453	73	47,072	37	1,778	48	1,233	63
8. Mithapukur	..	15	128,017	97	32,112	21	95,170	30	3,601	48	2,140	83
9. Pirganj	93,178	91	19,169	03	73,693	14	2,665	35	1,541	38
10. Domar	56,062	21	10,152	65	45,785	52	2,549	98	..	..
11. Dimla	..	23	70,682	55	16,385	21	54,069	04	3,197	21	..	..
12. Jaldhaka	83,290	81	24,376	38	58,526	25	2,857	26	..	..
13. Kishoreganj	73,674	77	24,043	89	49,388	27	2,276	57	1,831	37
14. Niphamari	92,613	51	26,066	45	66,114	62	3,532	79	..	..
15. Sayedpur	30,867	16	7,083	86	23,798	00	1,133	48	..	..
16. Sundarganj	..	84	132,140	69	52,987	07	77,759	29	2,252	98	1,586	11
17. Sadullapur	..	09	69,396	99	21,802	49	46,734	56	1,871	51	951	96
18. Phulchhari	..	13	46,068	99	17,359	52	27,934	00	304	97	800	99
19. Palasbari	..	10	59,495	62	19,689	35	38,799	67	1,531	38	882	93
20. Gaibandha	..	11	101,268	76	40,111	32	60,310	77	1,752	75	890	99
21. Gobindaganj	..	30	127,042	35	35,382	58	90,850	31	2,521	79	1,499	60
22. Sagbata	67,456	81	27,155	04	39,740	74	1,075	26	627	48
23. Nageewari	..	95	110,556	37	37,728	13	72,457	08	3,767	38	1,072	08
24. Kundgram	..	01	62,077	75	21,427	26	40,571	44	1,450	58	397	53
25. Uthpur	125,338	59	43,092	81	81,731	99	2,499	28	255	33
26. Chalmari	45,923	45	14,633	22	30,882	80	663	44	20	21
27. Bahumari	52,433	30	12,134	46	39,492	85	90	54	..	07
28. Bhurungamari	60,768	44	20,993	19	39,775	15	3,034	24	..	..

29. Fulbari	..	..	28,372	43	5,333	53	20,088	91	969	57	..	..
30. Lalmonirhat	..	..	86,137	41	24,720	57	61,416	84	2,481	14	..	..
Subdivisional totals.												
Rangpur	..	..	700,286	16	159,912	68	538,317	46	23,951	62	10,892	77
Gaibandha	..	2	602,870	21	214,444	37	382,128	34	11,310	64	7,240	68
Kurigram	..	34	571,607	64	183,063	16	386,367	66	14,956	17	1,745	17
Nilphamari	..	..	407,191	61	108,108	44	297,621	70	15,547	29	1,831	37
Grand total of the district	..	38	2,291,955	62	665,568	65	1,664,434	56	65,765	72	21,769	39

Column 24.—Other dyes, e.g., annatto, safflower, etc.
" 30.—Other drugs and narcotics, e.g., betelnut, etc.
" 30.—Miscellaneous non-food crops, e.g., mulberry, dhaincha, etc.

APPENDIX

Statistics of Live

Rangpur

Name of thana.	Bulls.	Bulls reared or bred in Govt. farm.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Calves.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Buffalo calves.	Sheep.	Goats.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Phulchhari	448	18	7,032	6,902	6,030	102	105	53	394	3,255
Gaibandha	1,211	25	20,704	16,657	14,548	120	48	6	242	9,552
Gobindaganj	1,092	23	27,718	19,771	21,655	2,829	423	101	2,492	18,755
Palasbari	536	18	13,357	9,064	10,924	463	25	12	881	7,972
Sadullapur	1,128	12	15,848	12,122	12,377	92	8	2	202	7,998
Saghata	546	14	12,108	9,311	8,276	28	25	24	691	6,337
Sundarganj	2,017	114	27,583	23,601	19,496	372	138	25	290	14,781
Total of Gaibandha sub-division.	6,978	232	124,845	97,428	93,306	4,006	772	223	5,192	68,645
Bhurungamari	1,397	4	12,670	12,540	12,513	602	64	17	77	4,043
Chilmari	479	12	8,578	9,688	7,496	324	273	98	322	4,427
Fulbari	442	2	6,838	6,606	5,726	812	134	16	22	4,452
Kurigram	953	21	13,843	12,358	10,459	341	53	10	161	7,738
Lalmanirhat	1,100	37	22,686	18,678	17,308	1,960	232	27	490	15,300
Nageswari	1,853	26	23,556	20,881	18,897	1,258	189	32	266	9,021
Rahumari	1,047	27	6,616	12,234	10,073	948	567	233	196	2,831
Ulipur	2,411	60	25,250	22,459	18,471	970	291	64	372	12,596
Total of Kurigram sub-division.	9,682	189	120,037	115,494	100,938	7,275	1,803	497	1,906	60,408
Dimla	1,496	30	22,574	18,610	14,687	1,700	499	252	141	13,729
Domar	659	39	19,137	15,828	12,483	1,735	370	194	36	11,937
Jaldhaka	1,597	124	24,320	21,068	16,176	873	421	200	221	17,155
Kishoreganj	788	76	21,046	16,400	13,922	617	248	101	374	16,182
Nilphamari	1,092	79	25,860	21,988	18,943	843	192	92	76	16,970
Saidpur	189	18	8,284	9,041	8,137	123	43	23	40	6,924
Total of Nilphamari sub-division.	5,821	366	121,221	102,941	84,348	5,891	1,773	862	888	81,897
Badarganj	1,269	37	25,261	23,401	20,538	1,249	177	45	619	14,420
Gangachara	434	25	15,439	10,893	9,519	105	89	18	237	10,718
Hatibandha	867	36	15,933	14,659	1,208	778	267	64	211	8,570
Kaliganj	1,195	56	30,521	25,307	22,889	1,048	259	61	442	20,997
Kaunia	569	10	8,166	7,135	7,291	544	146	12	92	5,823
Mithapukur	2,104	49	30,808	24,851	26,532	1,304	188	53	1,305	15,822
Pirgachha	1,065	48	14,827	13,564	12,764	706	196	19	237	7,522
Pirganj	1,790	39	23,112	20,688	21,764	1,493	240	70	1,422	14,175
Rangpur	936	12	19,937	17,329	15,915	441	111	26	247	11,398
Total of Sadar sub-division.	10,229	312	184,004	157,927	138,420	7,668	1,673	368	4,812	109,445
Total of the district ..	32,795	1,099	550,167	473,890	417,012	24,840	6,921	1,650	12,798	320,395

VI.

stock, etc.

Settlement.

Horses.	Mares.	Young stock (colts and fillies.)	Mules.	Donkeys.	Elephants.	Camels.	Pigs.	Ploughs.	Carts.	Country Boats.
12(a)	12(b)	12(c)	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
83	48	4	..	..	1	..	44	5,078	429	632
172	90	9	..	..	..	..	830	12,695	1,404	394
467	163	21	..	..	2	..	823	16,444	2,297	885
229	61	8	..	..	..	..	5	7,680	756	393
134	35	8	..	..	..	..	227	9,231	993	365
148	162	13	..	..	..	..	27	8,037	498	775
395	135	19	2	..	1	2	222	17,249	1,268	348
1,623	694	82	2	..	4	2	1,978	76,314	7,555	3,792
122	21	5	..	..	..	..	127	7,358	768	57
56	31	10	..	..	..	..	12	6,204	505	670
16	3	3	..	..	2	..	631	3,957	627	41
39	14	5	..	..	..	..	46	8,162	898	363
110	33	8	..	2	1	..	368	12,352	2,325	136
95	39	9	..	..	1	..	57	13,890	1,090	636
32	21	2	..	..	..	..	13	7,109	659	1,788
161	38	4	..	..	2	5	745	15,757	1,188	598
631	200	46	..	2	6	5	1,999	74,798	8,046	4,289
50	20	3	..	..	..	..	22	12,390	1,376	26
46	19	1	2	3	..	..	39	11,485	1,463	2
42	28	9	2	3	..	..	14	13,498	2,038	49
36	22	2	..	3	..	..	29	10,938	1,878	11
47	19	3	1	2	..	..	63	13,022	2,280	1
27	13	5	4	12	..	..	159	4,198	1,006	7
248	121	23	9	23	..	..	326	66,431	10,941	96
79	27	7	..	..	4	1	418	13,163	3,918	26
58	6	2	..	1	..	..	177	7,805	1,278	78
48	24	9	..	4	..	..	136	8,361	1,106	18
106	48	19	..	8	..	..	523	14,466	2,414	134
26	16	1	..	..	1	..	57	4,462	647	19
132	33	7	..	..	1	..	633	16,148	4,443	219
70	10	1	..	..	1	..	120	8,396	1,112	80
81	26	5	2	..	..	..	490	12,499	3,034	107
112	23	13	..	9	2	..	104	9,070	2,384	13
712	213	64	2	17	9	1	2,658	95,270	20,336	703
3,214	1,228	215	15	42	19	8	6,991	312,913	45,972	8,890

APPENDIX VII.

Extracts from the general instructions relating to the preparation of the record-of-rights.

(I) Purchases.

Purchases may be made of (1) a proprietary interest, (2) a tenure-holder's interest, and (3) a raiyat's interest.

(1) *Purchase of proprietary interest.*—If a share of proprietary right is purchased the purchaser's name is to be substituted, for the share purchased and a note made in the discrepancy statement (Register G) with the Collector's record. If the purchaser purchases only blocks of lands in severalty, he should be bracketed with the vendor.

(2) *Purchase of a tenure-holder's interest.*—
(a) Where a 16 annas proprietor purchases a 16 annas tenure the latter is merged in the proprietary interest. A man cannot be at the same time the landlord and the tenant for the same land. A Patni taluk, however, created before 1882, i.e., the year in which the Transfer of Property Act was passed, if purchased by the proprietor will retain its separate existence even after the purchase.

(b) Tenures are permanent or temporary.

The transferability of the latter depends on the terms on which such tenures were created. Purchasers will be dealt with accordingly and unrecognised transferees treated as in the case of purchasers of occupancy holdings before the Amended Bengal Tenancy Act of 1929.

The former are ordinarily transferable, and the law prescribes the payment of landlords' fees, non-payment of which will not invalidate the transfer, but will simply render the transferee liable to a decree for the amount. Transferees wholly or in part must therefore have their names recorded, except in the case of patni tenures the recognition of which must be specifically obtained by the transferee by the payment of salami or by furnishing collateral security as required by Regulation VIII of 1819.

(c) Transfer of shares or specific blocks of permanent tenures. When a share is purchased, the transferee's name will be substituted for the vendors in column 13. When a specific block of land is purchased the transferee's name will be bracketed with the vendor's in column 13. No separate share will be given in column 14 and separate possession will be shown in column 23. If the plots are sublet a separate group number will be given.

(d) Holding of raiyats at fixed rent will be dealt with on the same principles.

(3) *Purchase of a raiyati interest.*—(a) By 16 annas proprietors or permanent tenure-holders,

The holding merges under section 22 (1) whether the purchase was effected before or after the Amended Act.

(b) By cosharer proprietors or permanent tenure-holders before the Amended Act.

Note.—The reference to column numbers are to the working khatians. The columns of the final khatians are not numbered.

In such cases a distinctive entry is necessary to make it clear to the civil courts and the public that the purchase took place before and not after the Amended Act, i.e., before the 2nd April 1929. The entry at the top of column 13 will therefore be:—১৯২৯ সালের পূর্ববর্তী বজীর প্রজাবলি আইনের ২২/২ ধারা মতে দং।

The amount paid by the purchasing cosharer or cosharers is not rent; hence the old rent will be entered in column 8 and the amount payable to the non-purchasing cosharers in column 16 as যেটি টাকার মধ্যে নিজ অংশ বাড়ে অপর সন্নিবেশ প্রাপ্য এত।

When a share is purchased, the purchasing cosharer will appear as খং দং below the original tenant, and if specific plots are purchased, his possession will be noted in column 23 by the same entry. In either case a note will be made in column 16 ২২/২ ধারা প্রযোজ্য। If the plots are sub-let, the purchasing cosharer will appear in column 8 as যদিও স্বত্ব প্রাপ্ত প্রাপক with the same note ২২/২ ধারা প্রযোজ্য।

(c) By a cosharer proprietor or permanent tenure-holder after the Amended Act.

Such purchases fall into two classes—

(1) Private purchases.

(2) Purchases in execution of rent decree or certificate.

(1) In cases of private purchase the purchasing cosharer is entitled under the amended law to hold as a raiyat. The instructions below relating to purchases by raiyats after the Amended Act will therefore apply.

(2) In cases of purchases in execution of rent decrees or certificates, a separate khatian will be opened for the purchasing cosharer, the status in column 15 being মালিক বা মধ্যস্থকারী according as the purchaser is a proprietor or permanent tenure-holder.

The entry in column 16 will be ২২/২ ধারা মতে যেটি টাকার মধ্যে নিজাংশ বাড়ে অপর সন্নিবেশ প্রাপ্য এত—কতিপূরণ প্রাপ্য।

(d) Purchase by a raiyat before the Amended Act.

Where an entire holding which was not transferable without the landlords' consent is purchased, the purchaser will be entered as খং দং under the vendor, unless he has been in possession for 12 years, in which case his name will appear in place of the vendors.

If there are under tenants the purchaser will appear as খং দং under the vendor in column 2. When a share is transferred the purchaser will appear as খং দং under the vendor in column 13 and if there are under-tenants the purchaser will appear as (যদিও স্বত্ব প্রাপ্ত) স্বত্ব প্রাপ্ত প্রাপক under the vendor in column 2.

When specific plots are purchased, the transferee appears as খং দং in column 23, and if sub-let in column 8 of the under-tenants' khatian as যদিও স্বত্ব প্রাপ্ত প্রাপক।

(e) Purchase by a raiyat after the Amended Act.

Under the Amended Act holdings, shares of holdings and portions of holdings are transferable. Purchasers' names must therefore always find entry in column 13 where the whole holding or a share is purchased.

(4) *Effect of purchase on under-raiyats.*—When a holding is purchased by a cosharer proprietor or permanent tenure-holder, and there is an under-raiyat in the holding, he should be given a khatian as a raiyat if one year has elapsed since the sale of the holding. Under section 167 purchasers are required to annul encumbrances within one year.

(5) *Purchase of rent-free holdings.*—When the whole holding or a share of the holding is purchased, the purchaser's name will be substituted for the vendor's. When specific plots are purchased, a separate khatian will be opened as a khanda of the original and containing the same mudafat as the original.

(II) Partial Kharij.

The question of partial kharij of purchaser's names (i.e., where one of a group of cosharers has recognised the transfer but others not) raises difficulties of entry. Two facts have got to be recognised. First a co-sharer landlord cannot split up a holding and all the lands appertaining to that holding must be kept intact. Secondly the purchaser has paid possibly a nazar or at any rate has got recognition from one of the co-sharers and this must not be ignored. Any form of entry that may be adopted, however, will be cumbrous and if all the cosharers can be induced to grant kharij or split up the tenancy before the attestation is completed they should be encouraged to do so. It may be explained to them that complicated entries of this nature will stand in the way of a settlement of fair rent under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, as well as enhancement and even realisation of rent through the sale of holdings.

When kharij is not granted by all, the following are found to be the usual complications:—

- Plots purchased were amalgamated with purchaser's holding.
- Shares purchased were amalgamated with purchaser's holding.
- Plots purchased were recognised as a separate tenancy by the cosharer landlord.
- Shares purchased and recognised as a separate tenancy by the cosharer landlord.

Entries in columns 1, 2, 3 of the khatian will be made in the ordinary way. In columns 4, 5, 6 the original legal rent (i.e., the last rent which has been recognised by all the co-sharers) will be noted in the usual way according to separate collections, whether such rent is at present after kharij actually paid to each cosharer or not. In column 8 reference will be made in the forms shown in the following typical cases. The total of columns 4, 5, 6 will be struck to denote the legal rent, but no total will be struck of amounts in column 8 (these not being legally rent). Purchasers' names will appear as usual in column 23 or column 13, as the case may be of the original khatian and the plot will also remain on the back of the original khatian.

Case "C" facts: Purchaser buys plot 10 of khatian 50 and gets kharij from cosharer "A", original rent payable to "A" Rs. 5. Rent kharijed for plot 10 Re. 1. Entry in column 8 khatian will be অত্র হিত্তার ১০নং দাগের অত্র ১ টাকার খরিজ হওয়ার দের ৪।

If similar plots from more than one khatian are amalgamated to form a new holding which has no khatian in our record, the entry will be অত্র খং এর ১০নং দাগ ১ ১০নং খতিয়ানের ২নং দাগ ১০, ১৬নং খতিয়ানের ১৩, ১৪নং দাগের অত্র ৩ মোট ৪। পৃথক ভাষায় খরিজ হওয়ার দের ৪।

Similar entries *mutatis mutandis* will be made in khatians 15 and 16.

If more than one person similarly purchased plots from this holding, a similar sentence for each would be inserted before the last sentence of the above. In every case the last entry will show the amount being paid to "A" for plots (or shares) still remaining in the original holding according to A's sherista.

Case "D" purchaser buys a share which is kharijed as a new holding. Entry will be as case (C) save that অত্র অংশের অত্র will be substituted for the plot number, i.e., a complete entry might be অত্র হিত্তার ১০ আনা অংশের অত্র ১ টাকা খরিজ হওয়ার দের ৪।

Case "A" facts: Purchaser buys plot 10 of khatian 50 (rent payable to cosharer "A" Rs. 5 and portion kharijed for plot 10 was Re. 1) and by kharij amalgamated it with his holding in khatian 100 (original rent payable to "A" Rs. 8).

Entry in column 8, khatian 50 অত্র হিত্তার ১০০ নং খতিয়ানের ১০ নং দাগের অত্র ১ টাকার খরিজ হওয়ার দের ৪।

Entry in column 8, khatian 100, অত্র হিত্তার ৫০নং খং এর ১০নং দাগের অত্র ১ টাকা খরিজ হওয়ার দের ৪।

Case "B" as for Case "D" অত্র অংশের জন্য will be substituted for অত্র দাগের অত্র।

Any case which appears not to be covered by entries essentially similar to the above should be referred to in a note for orders in order that standard entries may be framed.

Entries other than the above which have already been made should be corrected at final janch. In cases where a cosharer has given kharij for his whole interest in the original khatian in column 8 of that khatian, enter অত্র হিত্তার অত্র খং এর ভাষা এখন দের নাই।

(III) Roads.

Roads are held ordinarily by (a) P. W. D., (b) District Board, (c) Municipalities, (d) Union Boards, (e) Local Boards.

They may hold either as proprietors or as trustees for management. Proprietorship and management are two distinct functions and the records must be prepared to make each of the two points clear.

With one exception, the proprietary right vests in the public body which acquired the land under the Acts from time to time in

force. The exception is in the case of roads existing at the time of Act XLII of 1850 which declared that areas then covered by public roads vested in Government as proprietors. These last are ordinarily termed imperial roads and so far as is known the management thereof has been transferred to the District Boards.

A. The records will be prepared thus, so far as proprietary rights are concerned.—

For lands acquired by Government and held by Government.	Bharat Samrat (followed by the name of the department of Government by which held) <i>পক্ষে</i> so and so.
--	--

For imperial roads referred to above, and transferred to the District Board for management.	Bharat Samrat <i>পক্ষে</i> the District Board Kartik Rakshita.
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For lands acquired for the District Board or Municipality or other institution or body (other than Government).	District Board, Municipality or public body or the institution.
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For lands not acquired and covered by roads other than imperial roads.	The proprietor of the estate or revenue-free property to which the land appertains should be shown as proprietor and the Government or the District Board should be shown as tenant without status with or without rent as the case may be.
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In the case of other roads maintained by Union Boards a khatian will be opened with the name of such Board, in column 13.

When a Local Board maintains a road the entry in column 13 will be *কং ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ড পক্ষে লোকাল বোর্ড কর্তৃক রক্ষিত* since the Local Board is a subordinate agency of the District Board.

(IV) Jotes.

It will require a very careful enquiry to determine whether a jote is a tenure or a raiyati. The word jote means nothing more than a tenancy held under a proprietor. Nothing can be inferred from the term by itself. Whether a jote is a tenure or a raiyati will be decided on the merits of each case. In cases where the inception of these tenancies is traceable and the terms of the documents showing the inception are clear and not ambiguous, there will be difficulty in determining the status. In cases where the origin is not known and where the terms of the documents are not clear the conduct of the parties and the attendant circumstances will be the guiding factors to come to any conclusion.

In some estates, it will be found that some kabuliyats long after the inception of the tenancies were taken describing them as either:—

- (1) *সরাসরি জোতের ম্যাদি কবুলিয়ত*।
- (2) *সরাসরি রায়তি কবুলিয়ত*।

These kabuliyats are only confirmatory and do not really show the origin of the tenancies and the real meaning cannot be understood from either of these entries, though it can be presumed that by the first entry tenancies were meant to be tenures, while by the second entry clearly the tenancy was meant to be raiyati, when these two forms of kabuliyats are being systematically used by the same landlords. But it has been found on enquiry from the conduct of the parties and circumstances of the case that some of the tenancies

which have been described as *রায়তি* are distinctly tenures and some of those described as *জোত* are raiyatis. So, in cases where the origin is not known and the parties bind themselves by some subsequent contract regarding status going against the facts and circumstances actually found to exist, leading to an inference otherwise than what is contained in the kabuliyats, the following circumstances should be looked into very carefully before coming to a final conclusion on status.

(1) The most important point would be to see how the tenants under the jotedars have been treated from before the execution of the kabuliyats by the jotedars and the proprietors, in case the latter put the jotes to sale in arrear rent decree, e.g., whether those tenancies are regarded as an incumbrance without any protected interest.

(2) The second important point would be to see how these sub-tenants under the jotedars behave themselves with regard to their own tenancies, e.g., whether they treat themselves as raiyats as contemplated under the Bengal Tenancy Act, whether they pay the usual salami in cases of transfer after the amended Act, and whether they used to enjoy all the privileges of raiyats before the amended Act. A comparison should also be made between the privileges enjoyed by an undisputedly korfa tenant and those enjoyed by the tenants coming under the jotedars. Thus a distinction should be made between the rights and privileges enjoyed by the jotedars and the tenants under them incoming to the conclusion about the status of jotedars. At the same time the provisions of section 5 (5) must not be overlooked.

(V) Record of monuments protected under Act VII of 1904.

The question how to treat monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 depends on the circumstances of each case since the Act provides for different methods of preservation. The details and the methods of recording are as follows:—

- (1) If the Collector has purchased, leased, accepted a bequest or gift of any protected monument, he will be recorded as "dakhalkar" under the proprietor with a note as to the conditions in column 8.
- (2) The owner may by written instrument constitute the Commissioner guardian of the monument. In this case an entry will be made in column 13 or column 23 as the case may be.
- (3) The Collector with the permission of the Local Government may on behalf of the Secretary of State for India enter into an agreement with the owner for the preservation of a monument. In this case an entry will be made in column 13 or column 23 *ভারত সরকার পক্ষে কালেক্টর সাহেব কর্তৃক রক্ষিত*, (if the Commissioner is made guardian his name will be substituted for that of the Collector).

- (4) The ancient monument may be acquired by Government in which case it will be treated as acquired land under Collector with a note of any easement if it is a religious monument.

(VI) Adhiars.

In view of the High Court ruling (34 C. W. N. 845) which clearly lays down that the Act has no retrospective effect it is clear that where evidence is available to show that the adhiar or bhagdar held the lands prior to 1st February 1929 on conditions which would have resulted in his being recorded as a tenant, had the record been prepared at that time, he should now be recorded as a tenant. Otherwise he should not be recorded as a tenant without his fulfilling the conditions laid down in section 3, clause 17, of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

(VII) Record of under-tenants of a dakhalkar.

An under-tenant of a dakhalkar holding land for agricultural purposes will be recorded as dakhalkar.

(VIII) Aborigines.

By notification No. 8371L.R., dated the 10th November 1919, the provisions of Chapter VII (A), Bengal Tenancy Act, have been extended to Oraons, Mundas and Santhals in Rangpur district. The castes or tribes of all aborigines mentioned in section 49 (A), Bengal Tenancy Act, should be entered in column 13 of the khatian [vide Technical Rules, page 33, paragraph 17 (A)].

(IX) Illegal enhancement and presumption of mokarari.

63 I. C., 317, is good authority for the view that an illegal enhancement is a variation of rent as understood by section 50; and when there has been any such enhancement, there can be no presumption of fixity of rent since the Permanent Settlement. Until the contrary is established by a competent court, this department will accept an illegal enhancement as a variation of rent for purposes of destroying any such presumption.

(X) Application of section 182, Bengal Tenancy Act.

As there are numerous conflicting High Court rulings regarding the application of section 182, Bengal Tenancy Act, the following principle is laid down for guidance. The main criterion for deciding each case is the purpose for which the homestead is held. If it is really used for, and connected with agriculture, the Bengal Tenancy Act will apply, if it is held for residential purposes and not so connected, or for trade, etc., it should be governed by the Transfer of Property Act. A holding may subsequently change its character and the fact, that it is

now being held as a homestead which is not connected with agriculture, will generally be sufficient to hold that the Bengal Tenancy Act will not apply, e.g., what is now a residential area in a town, may have been agricultural land in 1850, but this fact alone would not make it raiyati.

(XI) Boundary disputes affecting Government interests.

The attention of all Revenue Officers is drawn to section 44 of the Survey Act which lays down that "whenever the dispute relates to the boundary of an estate which is liable for revenue, or to any other boundary by which the interests of the Government may be affected the Collector shall relay the boundary as previously determined and cause such boundary to be shown on the survey map. The boundary to be relaid is the revenue boundary and this should be invariably done on all boundary dispute case maps irrespective of whether the relaid boundary is used in determining the dispute. This in no way relieves the officer concerned from deciding the dispute according to present possession as required by section 41 of the Act.

(XII) Standard easement entries.

The following standard entries will be used in entering up the public easement form.

1. খাল—(a) নৌকা ইত্যাদি চলাচলের জন্য (b) জল নিকাশের জন্য।
2. ঘাটা—বাতারাতের জন্য।
3. পড়ক—কর্তারাতের জন্য।
4. ডহর—বাতারাতের জন্য।
5. বাঁধ—(a) আবান প্রকার জন্য, (b) বাতারাতের জন্য।
6. মন্দির—দেবস্থান হিন্দু সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
7. মসজিদ—মুসলমান সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
8. কবরস্থান—মুসলমান সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
9. শ্রাণ—হিন্দু সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
10. গির্জা—খৃষ্টান সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
11. গোচর for common pasture land.
12. গো ভাগাড় for land on which dead cattle are thrown.

N. B.—In last two cases if the privilege is confined to a particular section of the public (e. g., to the men of particular villages) a note to that effect should be added.

13. ইদগা—মুসলমান সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
14. কবরস্থান, কোরবানী স্থান—মুসলমান সাধারণের ব্যবহার্য।
15. পুকুর—(i) পানীয় জলের জন্য ব্যবহার্য।
(ii) স্নানের জন্য ব্যবহার্য।
(iii) গার্হস্থ্য কুর্খোর জন্য ব্যবহার্য।
(for domestic purposes such as washing clothes and cleansing utensils).
(iv) গো মহিষাদির স্নানের জন্য ব্যবহার্য।

(XIII) Classes of land.

গড়ক Big and important roads.
 ছাট Small roads.
 চহর Cattle tracks.
 ডাঙ্গা High arable land.
 দলী Low arable land.
 ভিটা Raised land near about bustees where
 rabi crops are grown, and deserted homesteads.
 বাঘ Homestead (including all buildings not
 included in the list).
 লায়েক জঙ্গল Culturable jungle.
 ডোবা Ditch.
 নালা Small water channel.
 বিল Unculturable swamp.
 কবরস্থান Burial ground.
 বালু Sand.
 খাল Khal.
 মসজিদ Mosque.
 পুকুর Tank.

পুকুরপাড় Bank of tank.
 হাট Market.
 গির্জা Church.
 বন Heavy forest.
 গরলায়েক পড়িত Unculturable waste.
 দাশান Cremation ground.
 বাধা Embankment.
 মন্দির Temple.
 দোকান Shop.
 রেললাইন Railway.
 রেল ষ্টেশন Railway station.
 নদী River.
 বাগান Orchard.
 পানবরজ Betel garden.
 শিকহিভুমি Diluviated land for which no abate-
 ment has been obtained.

Embankments surrounding old forts which
 are not locally known as বাধা will be classified
 as গড়।

Appendix VIIa.

The following khatians exemplify some of the more complex entries found in the settleme...

(1) Under section 22(2) before the Amendment Act.

জিলা—রংপুর, বোকা—রামপুর, জে: এল: নং ১৮, খতিয়ান নং ২৮, থানা—লালমণিরহাট, পরগণা—পাঙ্গা, রে: সা: নং ৩২, তোজি নং ১৫০।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের			অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংকিপ্ত।		পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেপ্।		খাজানা।	সেপ্।
ক বতীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী	১০				
খ মণীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী	১০				
			১	...	...	মোট	...
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।			অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।		অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের শ্রেণী এবং বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।
১৯২৯ সালের পূর্ব বত্তী বন্দী প্রজ্ঞাপিত আইনের ৩২/২ ধারামতে।			...	.....		...	২২/২ ধারা।
মণীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী, পিং আনন্দ মোহন চক্রবর্তী, সাং হাতুরা, পোঃ লালমণিরহাট।			১	.....		...	মোট টাকার মধ্যে নিজাংশ বাদে অপর সরকারের প্রাপ্য ২১০।
১০৫/১০৬/১০৮/১০৯/১১৫ খ.			ধারামতে পরিবর্তন ও বোকাধমা নথর।				

খতিয়ান নং ২৮। অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় জমি।

দাপ নম্বর।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	দাপের মোট পরিমাণ।		অত্র স্বত্বের অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের অংশের জমির পরিমাণ।	
			এ:।	শ:।		এ:।	শ:।
৬৫২	ডাঙ্গা ...	.....	...	...	১	...	৮০
নিজ দখলীয় জমির মোট পরিমাণ						...	৮০
খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর।		অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খতিয়ান নম্বর।					
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের মোট পরিমাণ						...	
সর্ব মোট						...	৮০

(2) Under section 22(2) after Amendment Act.

জিলা—রংপুর, মোজা—রামপুর, জে: এল: নং ১৮, খতিয়ান নং ২৭, খানা—লালমণিরহাট, পরগণা—পাছা, রে: সা: নং ৩২, ভৌমি নং ১৬০।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের			অত্র স্বত্বের ধর		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্ষিপ্ত।	পরস্পর অংশ।		খাজানা।	সেস্।		খাজানা।	সেস্।
২ ক বতীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী	১০					
৪ মণীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী	১০					
		১					
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।			অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।		অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের শ্রেণী এবং বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।
বঙ্গীয় প্রজাতন্ত্র আইনের ২২।২ ধারামতে ...			...	.....			মধ্য স্বত্বাধিকারী তিরহাঙ্গী বৃদ্ধির যোগ্য।
মণীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী, পিং আনন্দ মোহন চক্রবর্তী, সাং হাতুরা, পোঃ লালমণিরহাট।			১	.....			মেটি ৫ টাকার মধ্যে বিজ্ঞাপন বাবে অপর সরিকের ২১।০ কতি-পূরণ প্রাপ্য।
১০৫।১০৬।১০৮।১০৯।১১০ খ							
ধারা মতে পরিবর্তন ও মোকদমা নম্বর।							

খতিয়ান নং ২৭। অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় ভূমি

খাগ নম্বর।	ভূমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	দাগের মোট পরিমাণ।		অত্র স্বত্বের অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের অংশের ভূমির পরিমাণ।	
			এঃ।	শঃ।		এঃ।	শঃ।
৫৬৮	দুলা ...	...	...	...	১	...	৯৭
নিজ দখলীয় ভূমির মোট পরিমাণ						...	৯৭
খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর।		অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খতিয়ান নম্বর।					
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের মোট পরিমাণ						...	
সর্ব মোট						...	৯৭

ପରଗଣା—ଯୁକ୍ତିପୁର, ରେ: ସା: ନଂ ୭୪୧, ଡୋକ୍ସି ନଂ ୧୮୭ ।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্রিপ্ত।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সস।		খাজানা।	সস।
২৫২ক নগেন্দ্রচন্দ্র লাহিড়ী গং	৫০	৬৮/৬		২৫২ক হিচায় সমসের এসলাম গোলাম মাওলা চৌধুরী গং অত্র খতিয়ানের ১৮/৫ পাই ৩৮২নং খতিয়ানের ২৫৮/৬ পাই ৩৮ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮৮/১০ পাই ৫৬৯ নং খতিয়ানের ২৮৮ পাই ৩৩৮ নং খতিয়ানের ৮৮/৩ পাই ৩৭৩ নং খতিয়ানের ৩৫৮/১ পাই ৩৫৭ নং খতিয়ানের ২৮/০ আনা ৩৪১ নং খতিয়ানের ৫৮/৬ পাই ৩৫৩ নং খতিয়ানের ১৫৮/২ পাই ৩৪৫ নং খতিয়ানের ৫৮/৬ পাই জের ..		
খ নরেশচন্দ্র লাহিড়ী	১০	৮/০				
গ শৈলেশচন্দ্র লাহিড়ী গং	১০	৮/০				
ঙ নগেন্দ্রচন্দ্র লাহিড়ী গং	৮০	৫৮/০				
	১১	৮৮/৬				
অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।	অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।		অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের শ্রেণী এবং বিশেষ নিয়ম ও তফসিল	
রায়তি					রায়ত	
আবদুল রহমান সরকার	৮/০				স্থিতিবান	
আজিজুল হক সরকার	১০					
পিং আজিত উল্লা সরকার						
আফিকুল্লাহা বিবি	১০					
মহিরুল্লাহা বিবি	১০					
জং আজিত উল্লা সরকার						
কছিরুল্লাহা বিবি	১০					
জং আজিজুল হক সরকার						
মফিকুল্লাহা বিবি	৮০					
জং ময়েজুদ্দীন মণ্ডল						
	১১					

১০৫।১০৬।১০৮।১০৯।
 ১১৫ খ ধারামতে
 পরিবর্তন ও
 মোকদ্দমা নম্বর।

খতিয়ান নং ২৫৫, পৃঃ নং ২। অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় জমি

দাগ নম্বর।	জমির নকশা।	মন্তব্য।	দাগের মোট পরিমাণ।		অত্র স্বত্বের অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের অংশের জমির পরিমাণ।	
			এঃ।	শঃ।		এঃ।	শঃ।
২৩৯	দলা				১১		২৬
২৪৩	ঐ				১১		২৯
৩৪১	ঐ				১১		২২
৩৮২	ডাঙ্গা				১১		১০
৪০২	দলা				১১		১২
৪৪৬	ঐ				১১		১৪
৫০৭	ঐ				১১		২২
২৪০	ঐ				১১		২২.
২৪৮	ডাঙ্গা				১১		০৭
২৫১	ঐ				১১		০৬
২৫২	দলা				১১		১৬
৩৪৪	ঐ				১১		১২
৩৯১	ডাঙ্গা				১১		০৯
৩৯২	দলা				১১		১১
৩৯৭	ডাঙ্গা				১১		০৭
৪০৫	দলা				১১		১৬
৪২৮	ঐ				১১		১৭
৪৩৭	ঐ				১১		৬০
৯৪২	ভিটা				১১		১১
৯৪৪	ঐ				১১		০৩
৯৪৬	বাগান				১১		০৬
২৪১	দলা	খং দং সমসের এছলাম গোলাম মাওলা চৌধুরী ১৮/৯৫১৯ পিং আজিমদীন চৌধুরী করিমুল্লাহ চৌধুরাণী ১১/১৬ রজবুল্লাহ চৌধুরাণী ৬/১৫ জং আজিমদীন চৌধুরী সাং নিজ আলতাফুল্লাহ চৌধুরাণী ১৫/১০ জং কেরামতউদ্দীন খাঁ সাং জাগুলী, থানা গাবতলী, জিলা বগুড়া আজিজুল্লাহ চৌধুরাণী ১৫/১০ জং মুরলহক চৌধুরী সাং ভাজনেঃখামার, থানা গাইবান্ধা আফিকুল্লাহ চৌধুরাণী ১০/০ জং ফজলাররহমান চৌধুরী সাং ধর্মপুর থানা, গোবিন্দগঞ্জ মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		১৯
২৪৫	ঐ	জের					১৮

জিলা—রংপুর, মোজা—কুমারগাড়ী, জেঃ এলঃ নং ১৪১, খতিয়ান নং ২৫৫, পূঃ নং ৩, থানা—পলাশবাড়ী,
পরগণা—মুক্তিপুর, রেঃ সাঃ নং ৩৪১, ভৌজি নং ১৮৭।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্ষিপ্ত।	পরম্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস্।		খাজানা।	সেস্।
				<p>ইজা</p> <p>৩৬৬ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৫ পাই ৩১৫ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৯ পাই ৩০০ নং খতিয়ানের ৮ পাই মোট ২১১/৪ পাই বৃদ্ধি ৩১৮/৮ পাই সহ একত্রে ২৫১/০ আনা পৃথক খারিজ হইয়াছে ও আফিকন্মেছা অত্র খতিয়ানের ১/০ আনা ৩১৫ নং খতিয়ানের ১/৭ পাই ৩৮২ নং খতিয়ানের ২০/৬ পাই ৩৪৮ নং খতিয়ানের ১১/৩ পাই ৩৬৯ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮১ পাই ৩৩৮ নং খতিয়ানের ১০/৯ পাই ৩৭৩ নং খতিয়ানের ২৮/১০ পাই ৩৫৭ নং খতিয়ানের ১১/৯ পাই ৩৪১ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৩ পাই ৩৫৩ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/০ ৩৪৫ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৩ পাই ৩৬৬ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৪ পাই ৩০০ নং খতিয়ানের ১/৩ পাই মোট ১৫১৮/১০ পাই বৃদ্ধি ৮/৮ পাই সহ একত্রে ১৫৮০/৬ পাই পৃথক খারিজ হইয়াছে এবং রজবন্মেছা গং অত্র খতিয়ানের ১১১ পাই ৩১৫ নং খতিয়ানের ৮ পাই ৩৮২ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/১ পাই ৩৪৮ নং খতিয়ানের ১/১১ পাই ৩৬৯ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮ পাই ৩৩৮ নং খতিয়ানের ৮/০ ৩৭৩ নং খতিয়ানের ৮/৫ পাই ৩৫৭ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৩ পাই ৩৪১ নং খতিয়ানের ৮/৩ পাই ৩৫৩ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৯ পাই ৩৪৫ নং খতিয়ানের ৮/৩ পাই ৩৬৬ নং খতিয়ানের ১৮/৩ পাই ৩০০ নং খতিয়ানের ৮ পাই মোট ৪১/৪ পাই বৃদ্ধি ৮৮/৫ পাই সহ একত্রে ৫১৮/৯ পাই পৃথক জমায় খারিজ হওয়ায় দেয় ৩১৮/২ পাই</p>		

খতিয়ান নং ২৫৫, পৃঃ নং ৪। অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় জমি।

দাগ 'নম্বর'।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	দাগের মোট পরিমাণ।		অত্র স্বত্বের অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের অংশের জমির পরিমাণ।	
			এঃ।	শঃ।		এঃ।	শঃ।
		ইজা					
২৪২	ডাঙ্গা	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		১৩
২৫৩	ঐ	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		০৭
২৫৬	দলা	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		১৭
৩৪৩	ঐ	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		১৬
৩৯৮	ডাঙ্গা	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		০৪
৪২৭	দলা	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		১৬
৯৪৩	ভিটা	মোং ২৪১ দাগ			১১		০৯
নিজ দখলীয় জমির মোট পরিমাণ						৪	৫২
খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর।		অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খতিয়ান নম্বর।					
২৫৫		২৫৬-২৬০					
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের মোট পরিমাণ						২	১৩
সর্ব মোট						৬	৬৫

(4) *A case of partial kharij which necessitated a special method of recording.*

জিলা-রংপুর, মৌজা-হুগাঁপুৰ, জে: এল: নং ৮৫, খতিয়ান নং ১৩৯, থানা-পলাশবাড়ী, পরগণা-পলাশবাড়ী,
রে: সা: নং ১৫৩, তোজি নং ৬৬৪।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য ।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্ষিপ্ত ।	পরস্পর অংশ ।	খাজানা ।	সেস্ ।		খাজানা ।	সেস্ ।
১৩৪ক রমেশচন্দ্র বিশ্বাস গং	১/০	২০/১১		১৩৪ক হিন্দ্রায় •		
খ একজিকিউটার হিরন্ময় বিশ্বাস গং	১/০	৮৩		২টী জমা ৮/৬, ১৮/৫		
গ কৃষ্ণচন্দ্র রায়	০/১৩৮/	১৮১০		জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায় •		
ঙ অগ্নীকুমার রায় গং	১/৬৮/১	১০৮		একত্র হইল		
চ দক্ষিণারঞ্জন মজুমদার গং	১/০	১১৭		খন্নিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের		
ছ মোতয়াদী মহাম্মদ হোসেন	১/৬৮/১	৮/৬		১০ অংশের জম্ম ১০/৮ •		
জ তালুকদার				এবং বিভিন্ন তৌজির জমি		
ঝ মহারাজা স্মার প্রদোৎকুমার	০/০	১২২		এক দাখিলায় খারিজ মুলে		
ট ঠাকুর বাহাদুর, কে, টি				২/১০ মধ্যে অত্র খং এর		
ট মোলবী আজিজুল ইছলাম	১/৬৮/১	১৮/১০		১০/৯ খারিজ আছে		
ঠ তাহেরমল্লা খাতুন গং	১৫৮/১৫	৮/০				
ড করিমমল্লা চৌধুরাণী গং	১৮৮/১৫	৮/৬				
এ নিত্যরাধা চৌধুরাণী গং	১৭৮/১২					
চ যতীন্দ্রমোহন চৌধুরাণী গং	১৬/১১					
১৩৬ নিত্যরাধা চৌধুরাণী গং	২৮৮/১১					
		১৫৪		জের		
	১৮	১১৮/১১				

অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।	অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের বিবরণ ও দখলকার।	অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের জ্ঞেয়ী এবং বিশেষ নিয়ম ও অনুসঙ্গ।
রায়ত ক উপেন্দ্রমোহন চক্রবর্তী পিং হরিমোহন চক্রবর্তী সাং বাসুদেবপুর থানা গোবিন্দগঞ্জ খং দং আক্তিতউল্লা গাছ /৮ পিং আয়ান মামুদ গাছ গেন্দ বিবি ১০ জং আয়ান মামুদ গাছ জহিমদ্দিন গাছ /১২ ফেলানউদ্দিন গাছ /১২ পিং সুহুমামুদ গাছ	১০	খ আছিমাই বিবি ১৪ জং ইছুপউদ্দিন মণ্ডল সাং আন্দুয়া নেদীমাই বিবি ১৪ জং সাফায়েতউল্লা মুন্সি সাং ঘোড়াবাঞ্চা লালমাই বিবি ১৬ জং সাফায়েতউল্লা সেখ সাং আসমতপুর ১০	১০ ১১	রায়ত স্থিতিবান
খ আনসামাই বিবি ১৪ জং কুড়ান্ন আকন্দ সাং মহদীপুর		গ যতীন্দ্রমোহন চক্রবর্তী পিং গোবিন্দমোহন চক্রবর্তী সাং বাসুদেবপুর থানা গোবিন্দগঞ্জ আনসামাই বিব গং বেস্থিত		

১০৫।১০৬।১০৮।১০৯।
১১৫খ ধারামতে পরি-
বর্তন ও মোকদ্দমা নম্বর।

খতিয়ান নং ১৩৯, পৃঃ নং ২। অত্র স্বত্বের নিজ দখলীয় জমি।

দাগ নম্বর।	জমির রকম।	মন্তব্য।	দাগের মোট পরিমাণ।		অত্র স্বত্বের অংশ।	অত্র স্বত্বের অংশের জমির পরিমাণ।	
			এঃ।	শঃ।		এঃ।	শঃ।
২২৪০	দলা	যতীন্দ্র খং দং প্রসন্নকুমার দাস।০ শরৎচন্দ্র দাস।০ পিং কালীকান্ত দাস		১৩	১০		০৬
২২৫৫	ডাঙ্গা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		২২	৩		১১
২২৫৬	দলা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		৩৯	৩		২০
২২৬৫	ভিটা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		৪০	৩		২০
২২৬৬	ডাঙ্গা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		০৯	৩		০৪
২২৬৭	দলা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		৪৩	৩		২২
৩২৩১	ডাঙ্গা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		০৮	৩		০৪
৩২৩২	দলা	মোংদাগ ২২৪০		১১	৩		০৬
২২৩৪	বাস্ত	মোংদাগ ২২৪০ ঘর ৭ কুয়া ১		৫৬	৩		২৮
৩০৪৪	দলা	যতীন্দ্র খং দং বিজয়রাম দাস - পিং গোপালচন্দ্র দাস সাং মহদীপুর		৯৩	৩		৪৭
নিজ দখলীয় জমির মোট পরিমাণ						১	৬৮
খাজানা প্রাপকের খতিয়ান নম্বর।		অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের খতিয়ান নম্বর।					
১৩৯ক, গ		১৪১১১					
ক		১৪০, ১৪১					
অধীনস্থ স্বত্বের মোট পরিমাণ						২	২০
সর্ব মোট						৩	৮৮

জিলা—রংপুর, মোজা—হুগাঁপুর, জে: এল: নং ৮৫, খতিয়ান নং : ৩৯, পৃ: নং ৩, থানা—পলাশবাড়ী.
পরগণা—পলাশবাড়ী, রে: সা: নং ১৫৩, তৌজি নং ৬৬৪।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কো: সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্ষিপ্ত।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সে:সু।		খাজানা।	সে:সু।
				<p>ইজা</p> <p>১৩৪খ হিস্তায় ৫টা জমা ৯/১০, ১/৩, ১৮, ১/২, ৯/৪ জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায় একত্র হইল খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের ১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/২, ১ এবং বিভিন্ন তৌজির জমি ৩ দাখিলায় খারিজ মূলে ৯/১১, ১/৬, ১১/৫ মধ্যে যথাক্রমে ১/৫, ১৭, ৯/৪ পৃথক খারিজ আছে ১৩৪গ হিস্তায় ৪টা জমা ১১/৯, ১/৪, ৯/৪, ৯/৫ জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায় একত্র হইল খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের ১০ অংশের জন্ম ৯/৮, ১/৩, ১/২ এবং বিভিন্ন তৌজির জমি এক দাখিলায় খারিজ মূলে ১১/৪ মধ্যে ১/৪ পৃথক খারিজ আছে ১৩৪ঙ হিস্তায় ৬টা জমা ১/৪, ৯/৮, ১/৪, ১/৪, ১০/৪, ১/৮ জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায় একত্র হইল খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের ১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/৪, ৮, ১/২, ১০, ৮ এবং বিভিন্ন তৌজির জমি এক দাখিলায় খারিজ মূলে ৬৮ মধ্যে অত্র খং এ ৯/৮ পৃথক খারিজ আছে ১৩৪চ হিস্তায় খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের ১০ অংশের জন্ম ১২ খারিজ আছে</p> <p>জের</p>		

জিলা—রংপুর, মোজা—হুগাঁপুর, জে: এল: নং ৮৫, খতিয়ান নং ১৩৯, পৃ: নং ৪, থানা—পলাশবাড়ী,
পরগণা—পলাশবাড়ী, রে: সা: নং ১৫৩, ভৌজি নং ৬৬৪।

উপরিস্থ স্বত্বের		অত্র স্বত্বের দেয়		মন্তব্য।	ধারামতে ও কোন সন হইতে	
দখলকার সংক্ষিপ্ত।	পরস্পর অংশ।	খাজানা।	সেস্।		খাজানা।	সেস্।
				<p>১৩৪ছ হিঙ্গায় [ইজা]</p> <p>৩টা জমা ১/৪, ১৬/৮</p> <p>জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায় একত্র হইল</p> <p>খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের</p> <p>১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/৩, ১০ এবং</p> <p>বিভিন্ন ভৌজির জমি</p> <p>এক দাখিলায় খারিজ মূলে</p> <p>৬৮ মধ্যে অত্র খং এ ৬৮</p> <p>খারিজ আছে</p> <p>১৩৪জ হিঙ্গায়</p> <p>বিভিন্ন ভৌজির জমির জন্ম</p> <p>এক দাখিলায় ৬/৯ মধ্যে</p> <p>অত্র ভৌজিতে ১৯</p> <p>খারিজ নাই</p> <p>১৩৪ট হিঙ্গায় ৩টা জমা</p> <p>১১/১০, ১১/০, ১০ জমি চিহ্নিত</p> <p>না থাকায় একত্র হইল</p> <p>খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের</p> <p>১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/১১, ১/৬, ১/৬</p> <p>পৃথক খারিজ আছে</p> <p>১৩৪ঠ হিঙ্গায়</p> <p>৩টা জমা ১১/০, ১২, ১১০</p> <p>জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায়</p> <p>একত্র হইল</p> <p>খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের</p> <p>১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/৬, ৬/১, ১১</p> <p>পৃথক খারিজ আছে</p> <p>১৩৪ড হিঙ্গায়</p> <p>৩টা জমা ৬/০, ১/২, ১৪</p> <p>জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায়</p> <p>একত্র হইল</p> <p>খরিদদার ক, খ গ্রুপের ১০</p> <p>অংশের জন্ম ১/০, ১/১, ১২</p> <p>পৃথক খারিজ আছে</p> <p>১৩৪এ, ১৩৪ঢ, ১৩৬ নং হিঙ্গায়</p> <p>২টা জমা ১১/২, ১/২</p> <p>জমি চিহ্নিত না থাকায়</p> <p>একত্র হইল খরিদদার ক, খ</p> <p>গ্রুপের ১০ অংশের জন্ম ১/৭</p> <p>এবং ৬/৭ পৃথক খারিজ আছে</p>		

APPENDIX VIII. Collectorate measurements.

The standard of measurement to be used for assessment purposes puzzled the early Collectors greatly. There was a long controversy, the records of which are preserved in the Collectorate, before the survey of Swaruppur in

For Pallee
Mahals.

4 anglee = 1 moosht

10 moosht = 1 derra
and somewhat more.

52 derra = 91 dast or 1 rassee.

1 rassee × 1 rassee = 1 bigha.

For Khear
Mahals

4 anglee = 1 moosht

10 moosht = 1 derra
and somewhat more

48 derra = 1 rassee

1 rassee × 1 rassee = 1 bigha.

Curiously enough the khiyar bigha was spaller and therefore more heavily assessed than the pali bigha. This fact was also noted by Buchanan Hamilton and suggests that the term khiyar referred to the more fertile clay as well which is now distinguished as *doash*.

The earliest list of prevalent measures was compiled by the Collector Mr. Alexander Wright in 1797. He compiled it for some parganas only. In the table below Mr. Wright's measurements are shown for comparison against the authorised parganas as filed in the Collectorate to-day.

Pargana.	Length of hat (cubit) or gaz (yard) filed in the Collectorate.	Gaz (yard) as recorded by Mr. Wright in 1797.	Size of pargana bigha or don filed in Collectorate.	Size of pargana bigha or don found in general use where not filed in Collectorate.
Bajitpur	20" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Swaruppur	34" (gaz)	....	56 × 56 (gaz) = 1 bigha.	
Andua	21½" (hat)	....	84 × 84 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Patildaha	21½" (hat)	....	....	80 × 80 (hat) = 1 bigha.
Klmat Patildaha	19" (hat)	....	....	96 × 96 (hat) = 1 bigha.
Palraband	20½" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Bajirnagar	20½" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Bamandanga	33" (gaz)	32½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Mauthana	30½" (gaz)	31" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Sultanpur	33½" (gaz)	32½" (gaz)	....	Non-standard through pargana.
Rukanpur	20½" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Tepa	32½" (gaz)	32½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Basatti	30" (gaz)	31½" (gaz)	....	80 × 80 (hat) = 1 don.
Kundi	31" (gaz)	....	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Barabla	20½" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Udaol	31½" (gaz)	31½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Bhitarband	35" (gaz)	....	....	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.
Kazirhat	34" (gaz)	34" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Kakina	32½" (gaz)	32½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Idrakpur	35½" (gaz)	35½" (gaz)	52 × 52 (gaz apli lands) 48 × 48 (gaz) khas } = 1 bigha.	
Purbabhag	37" (gaz)	....	....	80 × 80 (hat) = 1 bigha.
Kablipur	31" (gaz)	....	56 × 56 (gaz) = 1 bigha.	
Panga	32" (gaz)	31½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Baharband	35½" (gaz)	35" (khod gaz) 25½" (khod gaz)	....	52 × 52 (gaz) = 1 bigha.
Fatehjunpur	21" (hat)	....	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.
Sarbatta	31" (gaz)	....	....	Non-standard through pargana.
Amdapur	21" (hat)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	
Fatikpur	31" (gaz)	3½ as 30½" (gaz) 6 as 31½" (gaz)	40 × 40 (gaz) = 1 don.	
Babaupur	33" (gaz)	32½" (gaz)	....	52 × 52 (gaz) = 1 bigha.
Khupl	35" (gaz)	....	52 × 52 (gaz) = 1 bigha.	
Betasan	20½" (gaz)	....	87 × 87 (hat) = 1 bigha.	

APPENDIX IX.

List of important notifications.

Local area.	Number and date of notification.					
	Under section 3, Survey Act.	Under section 101 (1), Bengal Tenancy Act.	Under Act IX of 1847.	Under section 101(2) (d), Bengal Tenancy Act.	Under section 4 (1) (s) of the Criminal Procedure Code.	Under section 60 of the Government of India Act.
Rangpur	13239L.R., dated the 13th November 1930.	9174L.R., dated the 1st August 1931.	2434L.R., dated the 27th February 1933.			
Mymensingh. All lands which are comprised within the administrative boundaries of the district of Mymensingh covering the present bed of the river Jamuna (also called the Brahmaputra river) including all char lands lying on the west of the main lands of the district of Mymensingh commencing on the north from mauza Joaner Char, J. L. No. 1 of police-station Dewanganj up to mauza Jokmal, J. L. No. 83, police-station Islampur on the south.	931T. R., dated the 18th June 1934.	932T. R., dated the 18th June 1934.				
Transfer of chit lands of mauzas Bara Saradubi and Gotamari from police-station Hatibandha, district Rangpur, to police-station Patgram of the Jalpaiguri district.	....	....	....	....	314P.L., dated the 31st January 1934, and 7599 L. R., dated the 30th May 1935.	
Transfer of chit lands of mauza Lakshmanpur, police-station Saldpur, district Rangpur, to police-station Parbatipur of the Dinajpur district.	....	....	....	....	315P.L., dated the 31st January 1934.	
Transfer of chit lands of mauza Bardaha from police-station Saldpur, district Rangpur, to police-station Chirribandar of the Dinajpur district.	....	....	....	....	316P.L., dated the 31st January 1934.	
Transfer of chit lands of mauza Hadrampur, Belaichandi, from police-station Parbatipur of the Dinajpur district to police-station Saldpur of the Rangpur district.	....	....	....	....	317P.L., dated the 31st January 1934.	
Transfer of chit lands of mauzas Sibram, Sibnath, Jamgram and Kuchhikari from police-station Patgram, district Jalpaiguri, to police-station Hatibandha of the Rangpur district.	....	....	....	....	318P.L., dated the 31st January 1935.	
Transfer of chit lands of mauza Sonahar from police-station Debiganj, district Jalpaiguri, to police-station Nilphamari of the Rangpur district.	....	....	....	....	319P.L., dated the 31st January 1935.	
Defining the boundary between the district of Rangpur (in Bengal) on one side and the districts of Goalpara and Garo Hills (in Assam) on the other side.	....	....	....	....	....	F. 360/36 Public, dated the 2nd March 1937 of the Home Department.
Jalpaiguri. All lands of mauzas Bara Saradubi and Gotamari formerly bearing J. L. Nos. 13 and 24, respectively, of thana Kalganj, district Rangpur which, under notification No. 314P.L., dated the 31st January 1935, are now included in police-station Patgram, district Jalpaiguri.	5178L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.	5180L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.	....	....	....	....

APPENDIX IX(a).

Powers of the Settlement Officers.

Name of officer.	Number and date of notification.				
	Appointment as Settlement Officer.	Powers of Revenue Officer and Settlement Officer.	Power of Collector under Regulation VII of 1822, IX of 1825, III of 1828 and IX of 1833.	Power of Collector under Regulation II of 1819.	Special power under the Bengal Tenancy Act.
	<i>Rangpur district.</i>				
P. D. Martyn, Esq., I.C.S.	9662 L.R., dated the 7th August 1931.	9663 L.R., dated the 7th August 1931.	9667 L.R., dated the 7th August 1931.	9664 L.R., dated the 7th August 1931.	9664 L.R., 9665 L.R., and 9666 L.R., dated the 7th August 1931.
M. O. Carter, Esq., I.C.S.	13458 L.R., dated the 13th November 1931.	13459 L.R., dated the 13th November 1931.	13463 L.R., dated the 13th November 1931.	13464 L.R., dated the 13th November 1931.	13460 L.R., 13461 L.R., and 13462 L.R., dated the 13th November 1931.
	<i>Dinajpur district.</i>				
M. O. Carter, Esq., I.C.S.	1219 L.R., dated the 25th January 1932.	1220 L.R., dated the 25th January 1932.	1224 L.R., dated the 25th January 1932.	1225 L.R., dated the 25th January 1932.	1221 L.R., 1222 L.R., and 1223 L.R., dated the 25th January 1932.
	<i>Mymensingh district.</i>				
M. O. Carter, Esq., I.C.S.	6949 L.R., dated the 28th June 1934.	6950 L.R., dated the 28th June 1934.	6954 L.R., dated the 28th June 1934.	6955 L.R., dated the 28th June 1934.	6951 L.R., 6952 L.R., and 6953 L.R., dated the 28th June 1934.
	<i>Rangpur-Dinajpur-Mymensingh.</i>				
F. O. Bell, Esq., I.C.S.	1487 T.—R., dated the 7th October 1934. (Appointed as Assistant Settlement Officer-in-charge.)	1488 T.—R., dated the 7th October 1934.	1492 T.—R., dated the 7th October 1934.	1493 T.—R., dated the 7th October 1934.	1490 T.—R., 1490 T.—R., and 1491 T.—R., dated the 7th October 1934.
A. C. Hartley, Esq., I.C.S.	393 L.R., dated the 10th January 1935.	394 L.R., dated the 10th January 1935.	398 L.R., dated the 10th January 1935.	399 L.R., dated the 10th January 1935.	1395 L.R., 1396 L.R., and 1397 L.R., dated the 10th January 1935.
	<i>Jalpaiguri district.</i>				
A. C. Hartley, Esq., I.C.S.	....	5181 L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.	5185 L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.	5186 L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.	5182 L.R., 5183 L.R., and 5184 L.R., dated the 4th April 1935.

APPENDIX IX(b).**List of officers who worked in the Settlement.**

Name of officers.	Date of		Remarks.
	Taking over charge.	Making over charge.	
Mr. P. E. Martyn, I.C.S.	.. 7-8-1931	2-11-1931	As Settlement Officer.
	5-11-1931	15-3-1932	As Charge Officer.
Mr. M. O. Carter, I.C.S.	.. 5-11-1931	21-8-1934	As Settlement Officer.
Mr. A. G. Hartley, I.C.S.	.. 12-12-1932	14-3-1934	As Charge Officer.
	19-12-1934	17-10-1936	} As Settlement Officer.
	16-11-1936	2-5-1937	
Mr. F. O. Bell, I.C.S.	.. 21-11-1933	27-8-1935	As Charge Officer from 21-11-1933 to 21-8-1934. As Assistant Settlement Officer in charge from 22-8-1934 to 18-12-1934. As charge Officer from 19-12-1934 to 27-8-1935.
Mr. A. B. Chatterjee, I.C.S.	.. 24-10-1934	20-8-1936	As Charge Officer.
<i>Deputy Collectors.</i>			
Babu Apurba Ranjan Barua	.. 4-4-1932	4-9-1932	} As Charge Officer.
	15-10-1932	5-10-1933	
	15-10-1933	2-3-1934	
	16-5-1934	16-7-1934	
Babu Sailendra Nath Mitra	.. 26-10-1934	14-10-1935	As Charge Officer.
Maulvi Atikar Rahaman Mahmud.			
<i>Munsifs.</i>			
Babu Sahadeb Das.			
Maulvi Akkas Ali Khan.			
Babu Bikash Chandra Ghose.			

Sub-Deputy Collectors.

Babu Umesh Chandra Banerjee.
 Babu Satyendra Nath Das Gupta.
 Maulvi Salehuddin Ahmed.
 Babu Durga Pada Banerjee.
 Maulvi Md. Hossain Ali, No. II.
 Babu Sudhangshu Mohan Mukherjee.
 Babu Nishi Kanta Bose.
 Babu Profulla Chandra Mitra.
 Babu Sachindra Mohan Guha.
 Babu Mahendra Nath Choudhury.
 Maulvi A. M. S. Mahmud.
 Babu Upendra Nath Ganguli.
 Babu Sailesh Chandra Chatterjee.
 Babu Sarada Ranjan Datta Gupta.
 Maulvi Abdul Karim, No. II.
 Babu Ratindra Chandra Basu.
 Babu Rai Mohan Samanta.
 Maulvi Nizamuddin Ahmed.
 Babu Probhat Chandra Sen.
 Babu Krishna Kalidas Ganguli.
 Babu Hemanra Lal Das Gupta.

Kanungos.

1. Babu Nalini Prosanna Gupta, Technical Adviser and Assistant Settlement Officer.
2. Babu Upendra Kishore Majumdar, Press Officer and Headquarters Office.
3. Babu Sidheswar Haldar.
4. Maulvi Muhammad Siddiq.
5. Babu Pramatha Nath Chaudhuri.
6. Babu Syama Kanta Ganguli.
7. Babu Hiralal Karmakar.
8. Babu Lalit Kumar Basu.
9. Babu Jyotish Chandra Chaudhuri.
10. Babu Jadu Nath Ganguli.
11. Maulvi Samiruddin Kazi.
12. Babu Jatindra Mohan Chakrabarty.
13. Maulvi Abdur Razzak.
14. Babu Nripendra Nath Mukherji.
15. Maulvi Abdul Ghafur.
16. Maulvi Kubbat Ali.
17. Babu Dhananjay Barua.
18. Babu Mohini Mohan Chaudhuri.
19. Maulvi Masir Ali Khan.
20. Babu Nibaran Chandra Datta.

21. Maulvi Muhammad Motahar Ali Khan.
22. Babu Hari Mohan Dutta.
23. Babu Narendra Kumar Das Gupta.
24. Maulvi Badaruddin Ahmed.
25. Maulvi Elah Newaz Khan.
26. Babu Prafulla Chandra Maulik.
27. Babu Jogendra Nath Sen.
28. Babu Krishna Chandra Majumdar.
29. Babu Probhat Chandra Basu.
30. Babu Akshay Kumar Mukherji.
31. Maulvi Abul Nazem Saïdud-din.
32. Babu Suresh Chandra Sen.
33. Maulvi Tayebuddin Ahmed.
34. Babu Mritunjay Mukherji.
35. Babu Dharendra Chandra Sen.
36. Maulvi Golam Asem Chaudhuri.
37. Babu Kedar Nath Maity.
38. Babu Kalipada Ray Chaudhuri.
39. Maulvi Ali Newaz Khan.
40. Babu Naresh Chandra Pal.
41. Babu Santosh Kumar Bhattacharji.
42. Maulvi Golam Mahaboob Chaudhuri.
43. Babu Benoy Bhusan Sen.
44. Babu Jagadish Chandra Bhattacharji.
45. Babu Upendra Nath Pal.
46. Babu Upendra Nath Ganguli.
47. Babu Hrishikesh Majumdar.
48. Maulvi Abdul Gani.
49. Babu Basanta Kumar Sen.
50. Babu Rabi Prosad Dutta.
51. Babu Probhash Chandra Chatterji.
52. Babu Surendra Nath Das Gupta.
53. Babu Biseswar Mazumdar.
54. Maulvi A. F. Basirul Haque Chowdhuri.
55. Maulvi Fazlul Karim Khan.
56. Babu Narendra Nath Sen Gupta.
57. Babu Anukul Chandra Das.
58. Babu Narendra Nath Singh.
59. Babu Khagendra Nath Sen.
60. Mr. R. J. D'Silva.
61. Babu Lalit Chandra Das Barman.
62. Babu Suresh Chandra Das Gupta.
63. Babu Kalidas Mukherji.
64. Babu Surendra Nath Basu.
65. Maulvi Muhammad Sadat Ali.
66. Maulvi Kazem Ali.

67. Maulvi Maminuddin Khan.
68. Babu Hem Chandra Sen.
69. Babu Nalini Mohan Chakrabarty.
70. Babu Manindra Mohan Das.
71. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
72. Babu Manmatha Nath Ghosh Hazra.
73. Babu Kamala Kanta Batabyal.
74. Babu Santosh Kumar Chakrabarty.
75. Babu Birendra Nath Guha.
76. Babu Hiralal Banerji.
77. Babu Umesh Chandra Chakrabarty.
78. Babu Akshay Kumar Sen.
79. Babu Chandra Nath Chakrabarty.
80. Maulvi Afzalal Haque.
81. Babu Bijay Kumar Sen.
82. Babu Suresh Chandra De.
83. Maulvi Ahmed Uddin Shah.
84. Babu Mahendra Narayan Sarkar.
85. Babu Profulla Kumar Gupta.
86. Babu Santosh Kumar Mukherji.
87. Babu Mohini Mohan Mukherji.
88. Babu Profulla Chandra Bhadra.
89. Babu Surendra Kumar Sur.
90. Babu Pramatha Nath Adhikari.
91. Maulvi Abdur Razzak Khan.
92. Babu Kishori Mohan Chatterji.
93. Maulvi Sadudar Rahman.
94. Babu Nani Gopal Mukherji.
95. Babu Sudhir Chandra Bardhan.
96. Maulvi Rahamatulla.
97. Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen Gupta.
98. Babu Mohini Mohan Gupta.
99. Babu Bhupendra Nath Banerji.
100. Maulvi Rahul Amin.
101. Babu Himangshu Kumar Adhikari.
102. Babu Suresh Chandra Bhattacharji.
103. Maulvi Samsuddin Ahmed.
104. Babu Jogendra Chandra Banerji.
105. Babu Rebati Mohan Guha Thakurta.

106. Babu Saraju Lal Basu.
107. Babu Souribilash Mukherji.
108. Babu Dharendra Nath Bhattacharji.
109. Babu Jatindra Kumar Nag.
110. Babu Abala Kanta Sen Gupta.
111. Maulvi Zahidul Islam.
112. Maulvi Anisur Rahaman.
113. Babu Jatindra Mohan Majumdar.
114. Maulvi Maizuddin Ahmed.
115. Maulvi Muhammad Fazlar Rahman.
116. Babu Bishnupada Chatterji.
117. Babu Dharendra Kumar Sarkar.
118. Maulvi Samsul Hossain.
119. Babu Jogendra Nath Mallik.

APPENDIX X.

Apportionment orders.

Block A.

Rangpur.—No. 818T.R.—25th October 1933.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in police-stations Hatibandha, Kaliganj, Lalmonirhat, Fulbari, Bhurungamari and parts of Kuri-gram, Nageswari and Ulipur of Rangpur, where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under notification No. 9474L.R., dated the 1st August 1931, the landlords and tenants' share of cost for the survey and preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of fifteen years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below :—

(1) The rate of Rs. 1-8 shall be levied per acre of which the raiyats including persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 10 annas per acre and their landlords of all grades together 14 annas per acre.

Common lands, such as rivers, roads, khals, burning ghats, etc., shall be excluded from assessment, but not tanks even if used for irrigation.

(2) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay the full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(3) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of raiyats or tenure-holders, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus—

- (a) Permanent tenure-holders, whose rent is fixed in perpetuity, shall pay their own share of the cost and that of the landlords superior to them.
- (b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has over fifteen years to run, shall pay $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ th.
- (c) Temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has fifteen years to run, shall pay $\frac{15}{16}$ ths of the share they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run.
- (d) Temporary tenure-holders, who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term, shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats, the period for which the lease of the tenure-holder or under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) (a) Under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48C (c) (i) (1) and (2) shall pay at the rate of 4 annas for a tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village; (b) other under-raiyats shall be exempted from assessment.

(6) The calculation shall be made—(a) to the nearest anna; (b) areas less than one acre shall be charged for as one acre; (c) for broken areas over one acre, there shall be no charge for the broken portion if less than half an acre; but if the broken portion be half an acre or upwards, it shall be taken as a full acre; and (d) the minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas only.

Block B.

For Block B the apportionment was similar except in so far as under-raiyats were concerned. Paragraph 5 (a) of the order of Block B runs—Under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48C (c) (i) (1) and (2) shall pay a fixed maximum charge of 6 annas, for each tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village, while other under-raiyats will pay at 4 annas for a tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village.

Block C.

Rangpur.—No. 182061.L.R.—26th November 1935.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in the police-stations Kaunia, Pargachha, Sundarganj, Gaibandha, Phulchhari, Saghata and parts of Sadullapur, Ulipur, Kurigram and

Nageswari of Rangpur where the preparation of a record-of-rights has been undertaken under notification No. 94741.L.R., dated the 1st August 1931, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of fifteen years, shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) The rate of Re. 1-9 shall be levied per acre, of which the raiyats including persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay annas 12-6 pies and their landlords of all grades together annas 12-6 pies per acre.

Common lands such as rivers, royas, khals, burning ghats, etc., shall be excluded from assessment but not tanks even if used for irrigation.

(2) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(3) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of raiyats or tenure-holders shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlords' share shall be apportioned thus:—

(a) Permanent tenure-holders whose rent is fixed in a perpetuity shall pay their own share of the cost and that of the landlords superior to them;

(b) Other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over fifteen years to run shall pay $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ th;

(c) Temporary tenure-holders whose lease has fifteen years to run shall pay $\frac{15}{16}$ ths of the share which they would pay in accordance with (b) above, if they were permanent tenure-holders; and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run; and

(d) temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term shall pay half of the landlord's share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats, the period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48 (c) (i) (1) and (2) shall pay at the rate of annas 12-6 pies per acre, while other under-raiyats will pay at annas 6 for a tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village.

(6) Jalkadars shall pay at the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ anna per rupee of rent multiplied by the number of years the jalkar has to run divided by 16.

In jalkars having more than fifteen years to run and in permanent jalkar the rate shall be $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee. The minimum charge for a jalkar khatian shall be 4 annas.

(7) Usufructuary mortgagees shall pay the costs if the mortgage has sixteen years to run or more. If less than sixteen years the cost will be divided proportionately to the number of years out of sixteen to run between mortgager and mortgagee.

(8) The calculation shall be made:—

- (a) to the nearest anna;
- (b) area less than 1 acre shall be charged for as 1 acre;
- (c) for broken areas over 1 acre, there shall be no charge for the broken portion if less than half an acre; but if the broken portion be half an acre or upwards, it shall be taken as full acre; and
- (d) the minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 4 annas only.

Block D—Diara Block.

Rangpur.—No. 584 L.R.—2nd January 1937.—Under section 114 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Act VIII of 1885), the Governor in Council has determined that in the police-stations Mithapukur, Gobindaganj, Palasbari, Pirganj, Rahumari and parts of Rangpur, Sadullapur, Badarganj, Chilmari, Nageswari, Ulipur and Kurigram of Rangpur district where the preparation of record-of-rights has been undertaken under notification No. 9474 L.R., dated the 1st August 1931, the landlords' and tenants' share of cost for the survey and the preparation of record-of-rights, including the estimated cost of maintenance of boundary marks for a period of 15 years shall be apportioned and recovered as specified below:—

(1) The rate of Re. 1-9 shall be levied per acre on all lands except sand and a rate of 8 annas per acre on lands classed as sand. The raiyats including persons holding non-agricultural tenancies shall pay 12 annas and 6 pies per acre and landlords of all grades together 12 annas and 6 pies per acre on all lands, except sand and in equal proportion in lands classed as sand.

Common land such as rivers, roads, khals, burning ghats, etc., shall be excluded from assessment but not tanks even if used for irrigation.

(2) Landlords shall pay the raiyats' share for lands in their khas possession and raiyats shall pay full raiyati rate for lands covered by their holdings.

(3) Rent-free holders, whether of the degree of raiyats or tenure-holders, shall pay the whole of the landlords' share for their lands.

(4) As between the different grades of landlords, the landlord's share shall be apportioned thus:—

- (a) permanent tenure-holders whose rent is fixed in perpetuity, shall pay their own share of the cost and that of the landlords superior to them;
- (b) other permanent tenure-holders and temporary tenure-holders whose lease has over 15 years to run shall pay $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the landlords' share and their landlords shall pay the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ th;
- (c) temporary tenure-holders, whose lease has 15 years to run shall pay $\frac{15}{16}$ ths of the share which they would pay in accordance with (b) above if they were permanent tenure-holders; and so on proportionately according to the number of years of the lease to run; and
- (d) temporary tenure-holders who do not hold on a lease or for a fixed term, shall pay half of the landlords' share.

Explanation.—The calculation shall be made from the lowest grade of landlords immediately above the raiyats, the period for which the lease of the tenure or under-tenure is to run is to be reckoned in each case from the close of the agricultural year in which the record is finally published.

(5) Under-raiyats having a right of occupancy or protected by section 48 (c) (i) (1) and (2) shall pay at the rate of 12 annas and 6 pies per acre, while other under-raiyats will pay at 6 annas for a tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village.

(6) Jalkardar shall pay at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee of rent multiplied by the number of years the jalkar has to run divided by 16. In jalkar having more than 15 years to run and in permanent jalkar the rate shall be $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee. The minimum charge for a jalkar khatian shall be 12 annas.

(7) Usufructuary mortgagees shall pay the costs if the mortgage has 16 years to run or more. If less than 16 years the cost will be divided proportionately to the number of years out of 16 to run between mortgagor and mortgagees.

(8) The calculation shall be made—

- (a) to the nearest anna;
- (b) areas less than 1 acre shall be charged for as 1 acre;
- (c) for broken areas over 1 acre, there shall be no charge for the broken portion if less than half an acre; but if the broken portion be half an acre or upwards, it shall be taken as a full acre; and
- (d) the minimum charge for any tenancy or part of a tenancy recorded in one village shall be 6 annas only.

APPENDIX XI.

No. 16602-L.R., dated Calcutta, the 27th August 1937.

From—O. M. Martin, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Revenue Department,

To—The Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Bengal.

I am directed to state, for the information of the Board, that Government intend to introduce in the Bengal Legislative Assembly a Bill to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act.

2. Among the provisions of the Bill is one empowering Government to suspend, with effect from a given date, all or any of the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act relating to the enhancement or reduction of rent, except as provided in section 52 of that Act. If this provision of the Bill becomes law, Government intend to use it so as to make null and void all enhancements of rent made under section 105 of the Act on or after the date of publication of the Bill, namely, 27th August 1937.

3. I am to request that all Revenue Officers empowered to try cases under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act may be at once informed accordingly and that they may be directed to give wide publicity to this intention of Government. All parties appearing in 105 cases should be informed by the Revenue Court that if they proceed with the cases they do so at the risk of having the proceedings rendered null and void.

Memo. No. 16603-L.R., dated Calcutta, the 27th August 1937.

Copy forwarded to the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal, for information.

Memo. No. XLIV/89-12142, dated Alipore, the 28th August 1937.

Copy forwarded to the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, for information and guidance.

No. 21749L.R., dated Calcutta, the 1st December 1937.

From—Babu Promode Ranjan Das Gupta,
M.Sc., B.L., Assistant Secretary to the
Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Commissioner of the Burdwan
Division.

With reference to your memorandum No. 3664R.G., dated the 2nd October 1937, and enclosures on the subject of filing applications under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, I am directed to say that in this department letter No. 16602L.R., dated the 27th August 1937, it was stated that the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1937, introduced by Government in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, contained a clause empowering Government to suspend with effect from 27th August 1937 all provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act relating to enhancement of rent except as provided in section 52 of that Act. In the Bill, as passed by the Assembly, this clause has however been altered so as to include also section 52 among the provisions of the Act to be suspended. The instructions contained in this department letter quoted above therefore require to be modified accordingly. The Board of Revenue, Bengal, is being requested to issue revised orders in the matter.

Memo. No. 21750L.R., dated Calcutta, the 1st December 1937.

Extract paragraph 1 forwarded to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Bengal, for information of the Board and for necessary action.

Memo. No. 20313-44G.E., dated Calcutta, the 7th December 1937.

Copy forwarded to the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal, for information and guidance in continuation of this office memorandum No. 14780-812G.E., dated the 28th/30th August 1937.

Memo. No. XLIV-1978, dated Alipore, the 11th December 1937.

Copy forwarded to the Settlement Officer, Rangpur, in continuation of this office memorandum No. 12142-45-12148, dated the 28th August 1937, for information and guidance.

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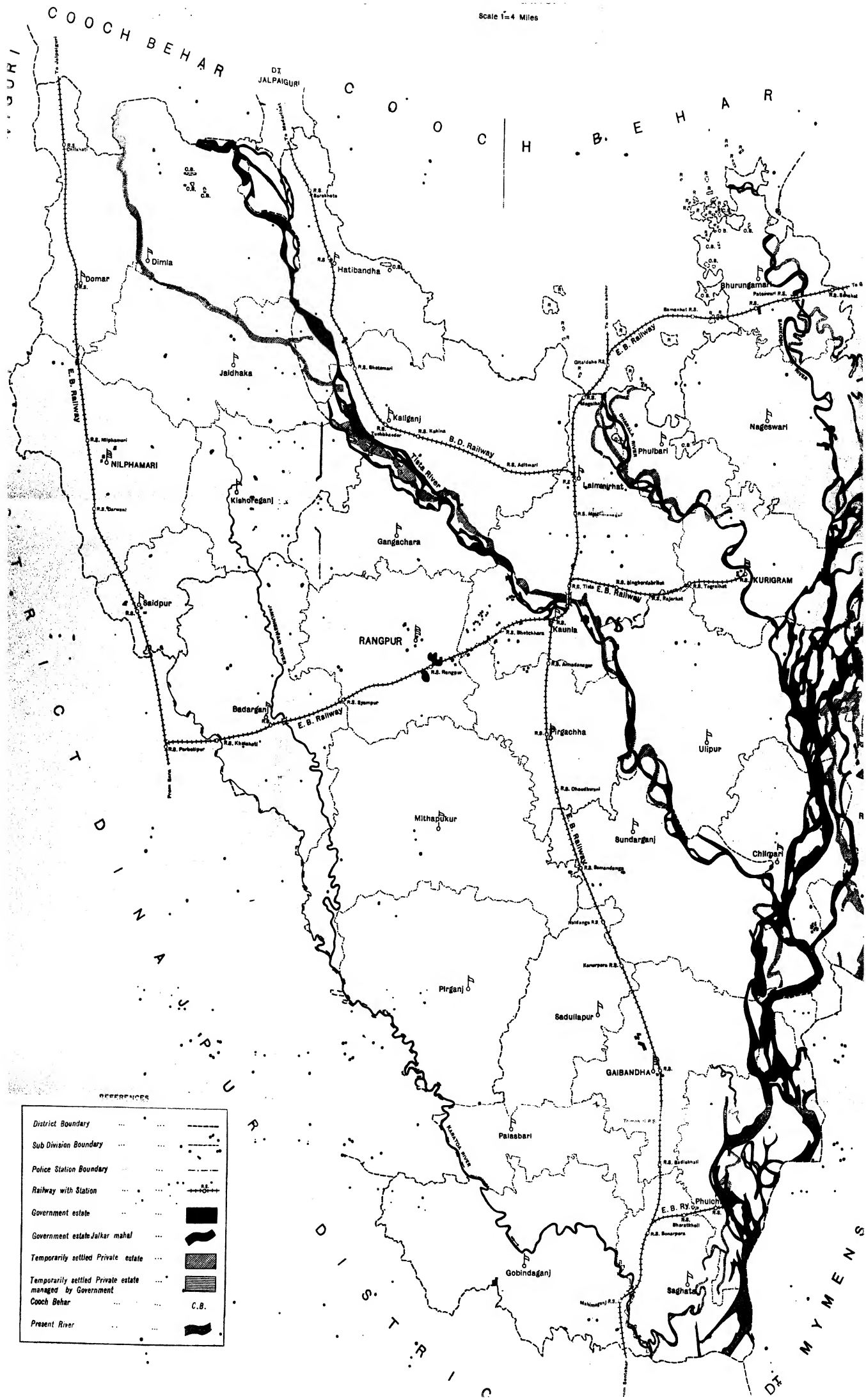
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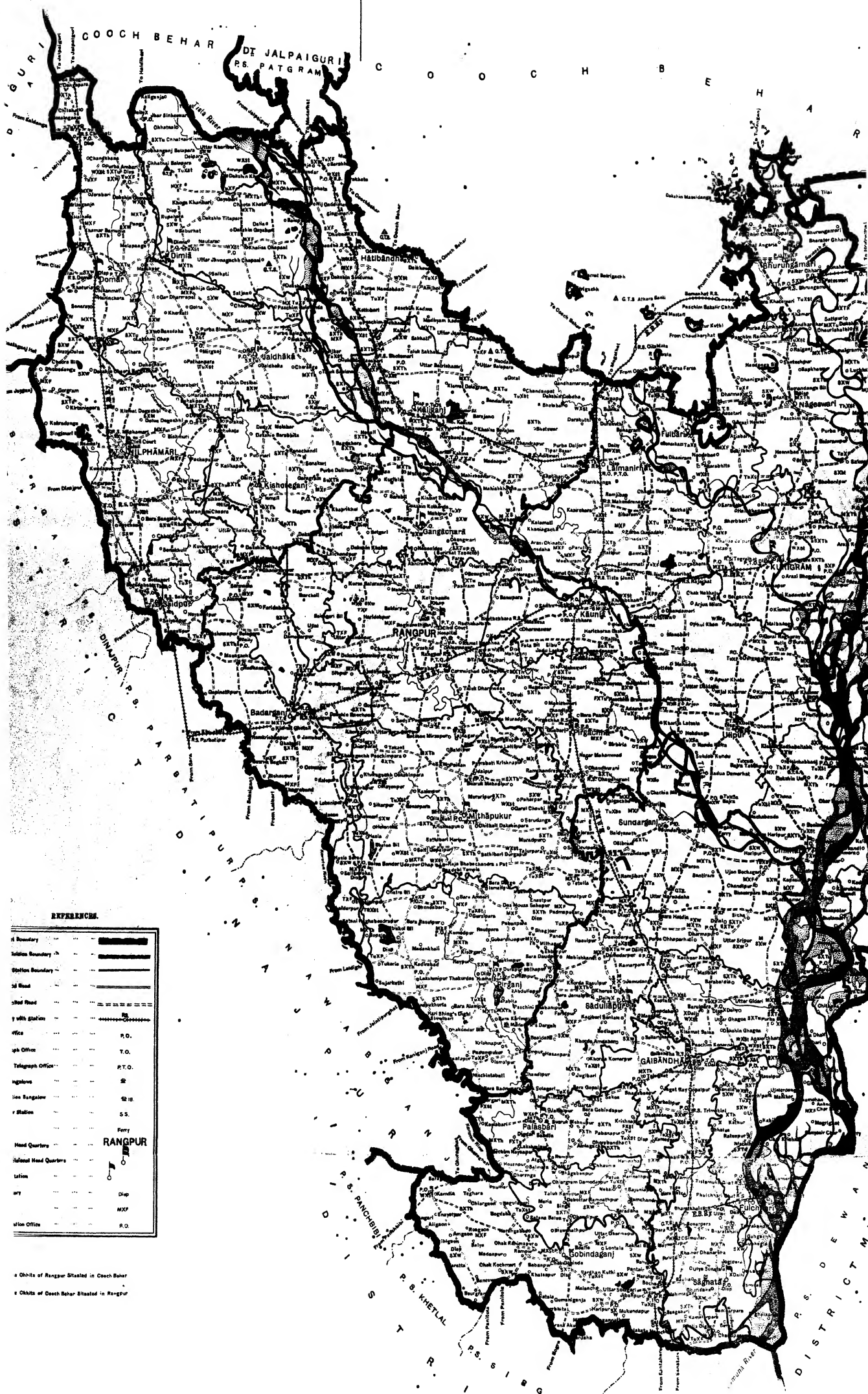
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a Chhita of Rangpur Situated in Cooh Bazar

*
e Chikits of Coesh Behar Situated in Rangpur

